

JULY 1, 1960

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Fellowship

MAGAZINE OF THE

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION



Lillian Smith

BEHIND THE SIT-INS

A. J. Muste

Alice Franklin Bryant

Edmund G. Brown

Arthur Gillette

Alfred McClung Lee

PACIFISM ENTERS A NEW PHASE

COME OUT OF YOUR IVORY TOWER!

A MATTER OF CONVICTION

MARCHING TO LONDON

CRIME AND CONFORMITY

Also: Potpourri—K. K. Chandy on the Kerala Elections
Poetry • Reviews of Important Books, Films, Pamphlets

Fellowship

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COVER PHOTO: Negro youths maintain a spirit of prayerful nonviolence at lunch counter of F. W. Woolworth store in Greensboro, N. C., where nationwide sit-in movement began in February. (See page 4.)

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JOHN SWOMLEY

The date of issue of this number of FELLOWSHIP marks the first day in twenty-five years that John Swomley has not been a member of the staff of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. His resignation was effective June 30; in a few weeks he will begin teaching summer courses in the new National Methodist Theological Seminary in Kansas City, where he assumes the post of Associate Professor of Social Ethics.

Those of us left behind will not have an easy time adjusting to John's absence. In the twenty-one years of his service, he has moved from the job of a student worker in Boston to that of Executive Secretary. Even though he will continue to serve as a "consultant," preparing frequent "current issues" papers for the aid of the staff and other members, his going leaves a gap that will be hard to fill. Over the years he has developed into one of pacifism's most formidable spokesmen, moving with equal ease and assurance among theologians and political scientists. His role as strategist in the peace movement was underlined by the unanimity with which the steering committee of pacifism's joint effort on disarmament called him to serve as its director, a job he has filled since last December while continuing to carry a heavy load of FOR responsibilities.

A recent survey of 12,000 Methodists appears to demonstrate that within that denomination are some 250,000 members who hold the pacifist position, and more than 100,000 others who are "nuclear pacifists"—those who do not take a pacifist position in principle but are convinced that nothing is relevant in the nuclear age. If that is anywhere near accurate, the potential of effective pacifist membership and action in Methodism dwarfs the best that the FOR can do now, and is a testimony to the depleted work for peace that denomination has carried on for many years.

It is a significant situation, therefore, into which John Swomley moves. His deep conviction and eloquent logic, expressed from a position of consequence within the denomination, cannot help but move that potent half-million into more effective expression of their own convictions in a world that desperately needs such expressions. So we share some of John's own anticipations for the new position, and though we are sorry to see him go, we wish him well.

JANE ADDAMS

Of an earlier generation, of course, was another of pacifism's stalwarts, Jane Addams, the centennial of whose birth is celebrated this year by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The League had its beginning at an International Conference of Women presided over by Miss Addams at the Hague in 1915, and she headed it until her death in 1935. Then and now it continues to give greatly to the cause of world peace out of resources that, like all of the pacifist organizations', are far too limited.

The WIL and the FOR have worked closely together for many years. Most, if not all, of the League's national officers are FOR members, and the activities of the two organizations have more frequently than not run in parallel lines. The staffs of each organization have been available for help and consultation to the other, and in specialized concerns such as the campaign against Universal Military Training and the current efforts for disarmament, they have managed an effective sharing of forces for cooperative work.

Like many other wistful bits of mythology, the fond hope that the establishment of women's suffrage would automatically result in a more peaceful society has had to be abandoned; if woman is by instinct and biology more given to peaceable solutions than man, it has so far been left to a minority of the sex to demonstrate it. The mem-

bers of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have borne the burden of that demonstration nobly. We salute them in this celebration year, and hope they get even more than the modest new funds they seek for expansion of their work.

DISSENTER

In all the flurry of official obeisance to the Civil Defense fantasies, a few voices have come out with firm, not to say strident, words of dissent.

Senator Stephen M. Young, who won our hearts some months ago when he told off an American Legion post, has now gone after CD as "half-baked" and "idiotic" in a Senate speech that should not go unread. New Jersey's Governor Robert B. Meyner blunted much of Governor Rockefeller's excited cries with his description of Civil Defense plans as a "cruel deception," and his firm reminder that "there is one and only one defense against nuclear war—and that is peace." Readers who have not seen Gov. Meyner's speech elsewhere can read it in the June *Progressive*, and should, since it is one of the clearest echoes by a prominent public official of points that pacifists have been making for some time. These are a few paragraphs:

Instead of spending the \$150 billion or \$200 billion that would be required for a national network of underground shelters, let us put just a fraction of that money and work into a massive effort to make our world safe for human habitation—while there is yet time.

We ought now to be talking about building 200 million pre-fabricated homes for the homeless people of Asia and Africa—instead of bemusing ourselves with the cruel nonsense about underground shelters.

We ought to be forging links with other peoples instead of forging iron doors to deep cellars. Our ties to other peoples—the good will we can earn, the support we can justify for world leadership—these will contribute far more to our safety and peace of mind than the holes we can jump into when it is too late. . . .

There are two kinds of preparedness. One is the kind represented by the big bombs. If we are ever in a showdown on that level, God help us.

But there is also another kind of showdown looming ahead in the world—and it requires another kind of preparedness. This is the non-military showdown. It will be deter-

mined by the side that has the most to say about human freedom and the making of a better and safer tomorrow for all people and by the side that can earn and keep the respect and support of the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples.

HEALERS

One of the nicest—and best—proposals we have read in a long time for dealing with the real problems men face is one that was sent to President DeGaulle by Richard St. Barbe Baker. Mr. Baker, who is a New Zealander known as "the man who planted the trees," wants President DeGaulle to take the lead in planting trees instead of bomb-tests in the Sahara.

This is not as wild as it sounds. French scientists in the last ten years have discovered that an enormous lake, the Albién Nappe, lies under the Sahara. It is estimated to be 50,000 square miles in extent (about as large as Lakes Michigan, Huron and Ontario combined), and the water already rises from it 4,000 feet with artesian force through ten wells already bored. Oases have been reclaimed, cultivable acreage extended, industrial enterprises made possible. One such well, with a flow of 5500 gallons an hour, provides the community near it with ample drinking water for the first time, and irrigates 800 acres of date palms.

Mr. Baker approves, but he wants to move faster. He wants an enormous project to get under way to "reclaim the desert" and stop its relentless advance. It would take 20 million men, he thinks, and suggests delicately that this is just about the number of men now under arms around the world. In eight years such a force, he argues, could turn the Sahara into a green homeland for 100 million people.

It is a sample, and a good one, of the kind of problem to which 1960's men and governments should be turning their attention, unitedly, in cooperation, moved by compassion for the world's needy and vision of the kind of green and smiling homeland the earth could be. We like Mr. Baker's plan, and we like the name and spirit of the organization he headed: "The Men of the Trees," who are described as "world-wide society of earth healers." Hea-

is what the earth and its children both
d these days, and in the healing of one
hope for the other.

WS

A temporary staff member of the Fellow-
ship was arrested the other day in Mont-
gomery, Alabama, for being caught eating
the company of Negroes. Some 25 people
were involved, including white students
and their dean from an Illinois college and
Negro students from Alabama State College.
They were in a private dining room, not
trying on a demonstration or project, but
talking about the issues that white and
Negro students talk about these days. Some
of the students were freed, but the dean,
the man, and some representatives of the
Montgomery Improvement Association were
arrested, convicted and fined \$100 each plus
costs, a verdict now under appeal.

Our man was intrigued by the fact that
they were not charged with interracial eat-
ing, however, but with disorderly conduct,
the traditional resort of the law-enforce-
ment man without a case. As the trial pro-
ceeded, it developed that the City of
Montgomery has quietly wiped from its
books all statutes prohibiting interracial
activities except for marriage and school
segregation. Under questioning by defense
attorneys, city officials acknowledged that
there were no longer legal prohibitions
against Negroes and whites eating, bowl-
ing, going to ballgames or doing almost
anything else together—unless they did it
in a disorderly way.

Our man is a clergyman, curious and
white. He gathered in a fellow clergyman,
equally curious but black. They both
dressed their clerical garb and repaired to
the dining room of the Jefferson Davis
Hotel, where our man was a paying guest,
took a table modestly set in an obscure
corner, and quietly waited to give their
orders. No possibility of being called dis-
orderly, you see!

The manager called the police, the police
arrested the two men and kept them in jail
for three days, after which they were tried,
found guilty, and fined.

The charge? Trespassing.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Lillian Smith is a resident of Clayton, Georgia, who has frequently spoken out for racial equality. Perhaps best known for her outstanding novel, *Strange Fruit*, she is also the author of *Killers of the Dream, Now Is the Time* and *One Hour*. "Behind the Sit-Ins," which appears in this issue, is taken from a speech made by Miss Smith in Washington, D. C. An earlier FELLOWSHIP article by Miss Smith, "The Right Way Is Not a Moderate Way," comprises part of a reprint, *The Struggle for Racial Equality*, available at 10¢ a copy.

Arthur Gillette is a student at Harvard University who has spent the last two years in Paris studying for a thesis on the writings of the French anti-war novelist, Jean Giono. During his college career he has somehow managed to take part in peace walks in the U.S. and England, and to work his way to India aboard a Norwegian freighter.

Alice Franklin Bryant lives in Seattle, Washington, and has been an active leader in the campaign for nuclear disarmament as well as carrier of the banner of three campaigns for public office which are described in her article in this issue.

Edmund G. Brown, as Governor of California, has many times been in a position to weigh the question of capital punishment and within the statutory limits of his official position to secure a measure of leniency in its application.

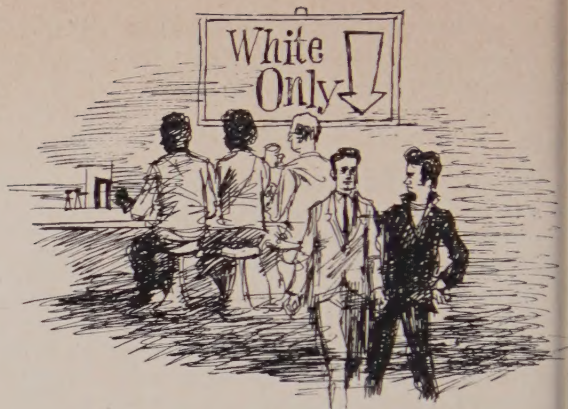
A. J. Muste, secretary-emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, read "Pacifism Enters a New Era" as a speech at the Triple Anniversary Dinner at the Riverside Church on April 21.

Alfred McClung Lee is a professor of sociology at Brooklyn College, and a member of the FOR along with his wife and two sons. During the coming academic year he will serve as a visiting Fulbright professor at the University of Rome.

Information about book reviewers is on page 30.

Behind the *Sit-Ins*

BY LILLIAN SMITH



THE SOUTH and its people have been in ordeal a long time and have had outbursts of violence and localized crises again and again; in Little Rock, in Montgomery, Clinton, Nashville, Tallahassee, and in other spots in the South.

But what we are now facing is not localized and cannot be. It is something different, something that has not happened in this country before; it has a new quality of hope in it; and is, I believe, of tremendous moral and political significance. Somehow it is involving not only students but all of us, and there is a growing sense that what we say or fail to say, do or fail to do, will surely shape the events that lie ahead.

This hour of decision—and it is that for the South, certainly—was precipitated on February 1, by a Negro student, age 18, a freshman in a college in Greensboro, N. C. He had seen a documentary film on the life of Gandhi: he had heard about Montgomery and the nonviolent protests made there; he had probably listened to Dr. Martin Luther King—certainly he knew about him;* he had his memories of childhood and its racial hurts; and he had his hopes for the future. But millions of Southerners, young and old, and of both races, have had similar experiences. What else was there in this young student that caused him to be capable of his moment of truth? Courage, of course; and imagination, and intelligence—and enough love to respond to Gandhi's love of mankind, and enough truth-seeking in his mind to

realize the meaning of Gandhi's teaching of nonviolence and compassion and the redemptive and transforming power. Was this all the young man had? No, there was more: an indefinable, unpredictable potential for creating something new and lasting, and doing it at the right time. Every leader and every race hero, and many artists and scientists, possess this talent for fusing their lives with the future. And yet, I doubt that the young man knew he possessed this special quality, or even now knows it.

In some strange way, however, his thoughts and memories and hopes came together and he talked about what was on his mind with three young friends. And a short time afterward, the four of them went on their historic journey to a Greensboro ten-cent store.

From this small beginning, this almost absurd beginning, so incredibly simple and unpretentious that we Americans—used to the power of big names and money and crowds and Madison Avenue and Gallup polls—can scarcely believe in it, they started the nonviolent students' protests which have caught the imagination of millions of us.

Why are we stirred so deeply? What is it we feel? what are we hoping for? I cannot answer for you. For me, it is as if the "No Exit" sign is about to come down from our age; it is as if a door is opening in a wall where there was no door. The older generations, to which I belong, have found decisions so hard to make; they have wobbled this way and that in their belief they have postponed the right action until the right time for it has passed. And now

* According to the *New Republic*, he was directly influenced by a "comic book"—evidently the FOR's *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, which is a graphic presentation of nonviolence and how it works.—Ed.

uddenly, completely unexpectedly, the students' sit-in protests began, spreading from college to college, school to school. It is exciting to watch them discover a freedom and purpose within themselves that they have not experienced in the outside world; to see them acting out, actually living, their beliefs in human dignity and democracy and in the redemptive power of love and nonviolence, and going to jail for their beliefs.

I think what has impressed me most has been the way they have done this, and their attitude toward white people. They are saying, by their acts, something like this: "Look, I am Negro and you are white; but all of us are human beings; and because we are human, we have moral and intellectual potentialities: we can create our future, we don't have to be prisoners of our grandfathers' past. We who are young can free ourselves—you and me, white and Negro." By their acts, they are saying: "All of us—white and Negro—are dominated by White Supremacy; all of us are crippled by segregation; all of us have lost our freedoms." They are saying: "Freedom is like the air: we'll breathe this air, together, all of us—or we'll suffocate. You can't segregate a hunk of it for white folks and then tell the Negroes there's none left for them." They are saying: "Freedom is not an object: freedom is a relationship that each man creates with his world; freedom is a dialog between man and his God; freedom is the sacred ground on which the human spirit has its being. It can't be divided up; it is ours, together, or it is nobody's."

Thoughts like these are forming in the students' minds as they live out their new purpose. Groping, slow words, maybe; faltering sentences, perhaps, for the language of the human spirit is complex and subtle, though its grammar is structurally simple and strong.

Wait now, you say: You are giving these students quite a build-up. Do you actually think they are so extraordinary? No, I don't. I think they are probably quite ordinary young people in most ways: they are extraordinary only in their awareness that the hour we live in is an hour calling for courage and commitment, and they are making their commitment, and in doing so

they are finding their courage. Actually, I suspect they were pretty shaky, those first ones who walked in the stores with their books and their Bibles to make their protest. They probably didn't have one grand, noble thought in their heads; they had made their decision in all earnestness and they were going through with it; and they were probably praying that they'd find the strength just to sit there; just sit there, that's all. But afterward, they must have felt an exaltation; a sudden rush of both pride and humility.

We who have accused the young of hungering for security, of not really caring about the big important things of the spirit; we who have called the intellectual ones "beatniks" and the livelier ones "rock-n-rollers" may have been right four years ago, or even last year. But we are not right today. For what these students are doing in the South is awakening students in the North and the Midwest to action, and something is happening.

Success Is Not Automatic

And yet, even as I say this, I know the new life that is beginning, this spiritual renaissance, can be snuffed out by you and me; by our apathy and stupidity and lack of imagination. I know police measures can become so cruel and massive and overwhelming that the students may not be able to take it. I am aware that a terrific effort will be made by certain powerful groups in the South who have close economic ties with the North to smother the movement by hushing the national press and the TV networks. I know that a few men in strategic places, by saying irresponsible things, can throw pretty big obstacles in the students' path. There will be accusations of the most vicious kind, and misinterpretations, idiotic and dangerous, and there will be persistent persecution.

And it may be that these young students won't have the stamina to hold out. They may not find within themselves enough moral resources, enough psychic strength to carry them through the bitter and bleak days ahead of them. I know, too, that the white students of the South may not be able to break out of their apathy and moral paralysis in large enough numbers

to help the young Negroes in this struggle for a new life, and without help the burdens may prove too heavy.

But I believe the movement *can succeed* if enough of us have the imagination to see its significance and its creative possibilities and to interpret these to others who do not see; and if we give the students the moral support and the money they are going to need. There is a tremendous power in the nonviolent protest that the sensitive Southern conscience and heart will find hard to resist; but even so, the students may have to struggle a long time. They will need friends during their ordeal. Americans in other sections can help them and should, for this not only concerns the South, it concerns the entire nation and the nation's relationships with the rest of the world. It also concerns each person's relationship with himself and his beliefs.

Let the Silent South Speak

But there are some things that only the South can do: things that only good, responsible, decent white Southerners can accomplish. Only they can create a new climate of opinion in which mob violence and the hoodlums and the police and the White Citizens Councils can be controlled; and they can do this only by breaking their silence and speaking out. To speak out for law and order is not enough, today; there is a higher law which we Southerners must take a stand on, that concerns justice and mercy and compassion and freedom of the spirit and mind. Thousands of us must also speak out against segregation as a way of life; not simply racial segregation but every form of spiritual and intellectual estrangement that splits man and his world into fragments. The time has come when we must face the fact that only by speaking out our real beliefs, and then acting on them, can we avoid a bitter time of hate and violence and suffering.

But will the Southerners do it? I don't know. I hope so but I do not know. They let little Rock happen when they could have kept that debacle out of the history books simply by taking a stand at the right time for the right things. They are now, in Birmingham, letting even worse things happen.

Our responsible people's silence is not

because they are in the minority: they outnumber the demagogues and Klansmen and hoodlums and crackpots twenty to one. In their hands are the media of communication: the pulpits, the TV and radio stations, the newspapers. They have the power and the money, the education and the technics to create an atmosphere of vigorous, healthy-minded concern where good words can be heard and the good act carried through; an atmosphere where people can plan, think clearly, and find ways to do what is right.

Why, then, are they silent? Why do they evade their responsibility at this time of crisis?

Is it fear? I don't think so. I think it is anxiety. There is a vast difference between the two.

We white people of the South think of ourselves as free, but we are chained to taboos, to superstitions; tied to a mythical past that never existed; weakened by memories and beliefs that are in passionate conflict with each other.

The tragedy of the South lies just here: segregation has made psychic and moral slaves of so many of us. We think we are a free people, but we have lost our freedom to question, to learn, to do what our conscience tells us is right, to criticize ourselves. We are torn apart inside by a conflict that never lets up, and we wall our minds off into segregated compartments. How can a man believe simultaneously in brotherhood and racial discrimination? in human freedom and forced segregation? How can he fight Communist dictatorship and surrender himself to the dictatorship of an idea like White Supremacy? How can he do and think these things and fail to see the moral inconsistency, the intellectual absurdity of his position?

But many Southerners can. And some of them are educated men who think of themselves as the community's moral and civic leaders. But the psychic result has been that a deep anxiety possesses them and they feel that any change would be only for the worse. When they are asked why they fear the crumbling of segregation they cannot tell you that what they really fear is the crumbling of the walls inside themselves. Instead, they talk about intermarriage. It makes poor sense, but the

nk it explains their acute anxiety. But there are other Southerners who ve changed, who don't like discrimination, who don't believe in segregation. And am often asked: why don't they say so? me are speaking out, of course, hundreds them; others want to but are afraid they ll do "more harm than good." Here, ce again, we have the result of a rigid, flexible training in early childhood, given us during a time of panic and dread. I s born at the turn of the century when e first segregation statutes were being it on the law books of the Southern tes. During the first ten years of my life ere were almost a thousand lynchings in e South. It was in this atmosphere of eror and brutality, of internal and external disorder, that we were taught our ssions in segregation. No wonder so many utherners of my age ng to it. We were ld as children never question it, never talk about it. This ence that is today dangerous to us and puzzling to others a built-in silence; its undations go down e babyhood; to our other's hushed whispering. There is a hypnotic quality about ch learning, and only the rebellious ind, the critical intelligence or the loving eart can defy it.

The Price of Segregation

The truth is that our parents and grandparents paid a terrible price for a security which they believed segregation could give them. When they permitted the system to e set up, they did not foresee that emergency measures would be frozen permanently into state laws. They did not dream that segregation would become a ritual so sacred that it would be given priority over the teachings of Christ in our churches. They did not know a time was ahead when the politician would exert more moral force than the preacher. The history of the political and social and psychological pressures that caused our fathers to blunder in so tragic a way is too complex to go into here. Let us settle for

this: that the price they paid for security was exorbitant and their white children are still paying today. For they have been as surely injured in mind and spirit by segregation as have Negro children: both have been warped, both have been kept from a free, creative life; both find it difficult to be courageous, strong individuals who can defy conformity and find their own responses to the world.

But some white Southerners are speaking out, and more would if they could hear others do so. There is a serious lack of communication between liberal Southerners. We can't hear each other speak because there are so few places where the person who opposes segregation can speak in the South. The local radio and TV forums have not as yet been opened up to many white Southerners who oppose segregation and are willing



to say so; nor have the national forums been opened to them. Again and again, on TV, the nation sees Senator Tam-madge and Senator Eastland and other racial demagogues and hears them say the same old things

they've said for ten years about mongrelization. Why can't we have a change? Why? There are eloquent and courageous young ministers in the South who oppose segregation, and have something fresh to tell the country. There are the students; there are prominent women; there are even a few politicians. This would give encouragement to those in the South who have never heard any Southerner state in a public speech that he is opposed to segregation. This is one way to help break the taboo of silence.

Once the silence is broken the South will change quickly. More quickly than we think. There are so many ready for change: thousands of ministers who have taken a good stand; hundreds who preach strong eloquent sermons against segregation; there are close to a hundred thousand women in Georgia who are willing to give up segregation in all public places including the schools; and there are hundreds of them

working hard every day against this system that has hurt everybody. These women are informed; they have thought and studied and examined their own souls; many of them have given their children better training in human relations—certainly in terms of race—than my generation had.

It is important for us to break the word "South" into a thousand pieces: not only geographically, but economically; not only culturally, not only in terms of the sexes, not only vocationally, not only psychologically, but into generations: there are gradations of opinion in all these groups, and gradations of moral strength. What is terrifying to the older generation (those born when segregation was being set up in the South) doesn't bother the young students; the Southerner over 40 is likely to suffer from taboos the 18-year-old does not feel; what paralyzes the men often releases the women; what seems easy to do for the 25-year-old seems impossible to the 50-year-old; the poor and ignorant often feel a psychic and social hunger to belong "to the white race" as if it were a club, while the more sophisticated, the more secure economically and culturally do not have this need; their sense of "belonging" has come to them in other ways. In certain areas of work, there is no racial competition; in others the competition is severe and exacerbates dormant race feelings. And too, differences go beyond the groups;

the South is chock-full of individuals each with his own ideas—this, despite our somewhat totalitarian training and our one party political system.

These differences among our people are potentially good; this lack of conformity in feelings and beliefs keeps the door cracked. What we need to realize is that these differences exist. We need also something that will fire our imagination and stir our good feelings so that new leaders can rise up and open the way. That is what I have such hopes for the students' non-violent protests. If white students will join with Negro students, their experiences together, their self-discipline and philosophical training will create a fine reservoir for new leadership for the South. We cannot change the South until we change our leadership and ourselves; we, as a region, can have our moment of truth only when we begin to think of ourselves as persons when we open up our imaginations and our hearts by taking the walls down within us. Then it will come. And it will be a healing time for us and perhaps for the whole world, for we are so sensitized one to another, so closely related in the common purpose of creating a future, that whatever brings wholeness to us as persons here will bring wholeness to others across the world.

Perhaps, even now, our moment of truth is near; let us pray that it does not turn into an agonizing time of sin and error.

RACE PREJUDICE

Though pride's expensive we will pay for pride;
It keeps us pure and makes us warm inside.
To serve a sandwich to a Negro youth
Would make us understand, and face the truth.
To let a Negro sit down when we sit
Would make us equal. This we can't admit.
Illusion is our badge; we learn to wield
Our image in the mirror as a shield.
We see ourselves the way we want to feel,
We're ten feet tall and made of tempered steel.
We can't be flesh and blood, for if we were
We might be like those others over there.
Or are we but an image in a glass
Now shattered by the stone of truth? Alas!

—EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE

MARCHING TO LONDON



BY ARTHUR GILLETTE

UNATICS!"

I was walking near the front of Aldermarch '60" when I heard an elderly bystander make this remark. If the gentleman had the patience, he stood there he was for more than an hour and half and watched about seven miles of what *The Guardian* called a "strange, acid crocodile," 20,000 strong that day and bristling with banners and signboards, shuffle past him. Perhaps the front of the plumn, led by a kilted drummer, together with Canon John Collins (Precentor of Paul's Cathedral), and one or more Members of Parliament, caught his eye. He may have noticed that there were signs present representing every major city in England as well as many towns all over Great Britain, and banners from more than eighteen countries right around the world, including Ghana, Nigeria, Japan and others of the Afro-Asian group who, though they comprise a majority of the world's population, have no say in the nuclear arms race from whose consequences they could suffer as much as any country possessing bombs and rockets.

Perhaps the elderly spectator was astounded to see a wide range of political viewpoints represented, from British Communists brandishing gaudy placards right through to a few tight-lipped Tories who, perhaps, were among the most courageous and the most convinced. Maybe it was the variety of religious beliefs represented in the March that amazed him: among others there were Anglicans, Methodists, Catholics and, of course, the Friends, with what one

newspaper called their "strong boots and stout hearts," bearing aloft their signs that proclaimed: "Quakers say no to all war." The plethora of banners bobbed up and down like apples in a tub as the March undulated across 54 miles of rolling English countryside from the Aldermaston Nuclear Research Center toward London. Some placards bore simple and grim statements like "Four minutes to DEATH," and "You die too, brother." One of the best of these was "Apathy is not neutral." Others attempted to convey more involved ideas. One expressed, by means of a rebus, the idea that drinking a pint of milk was like drinking a pint of strontium 90 and, mocking a current British advertisement, urged one and all to "Drink a pinta day." Another large banner, held up by six men, portrayed a dinosaur and proclaimed: "Too much armor—now he's extinct."

Perhaps that bystander laughed to see 8-month-old children in their prams holding the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's "lollipop" insignia ("N.D." in semaphore) or to hear one of the numerous jazz bands that brightened the spirits of the marchers, or the insults hurled at them from a speeding car full of extreme right-wing Empire Loyalists.

In any case, it is almost sure that he had some reactions of a fairly deep nature and that they were as varied as the groups in the March, and he probably found among these groups—religious, geographical, professional, political or other—at least one with which he could identify.

I do not suggest that had this individual

changed his opinion of unilateral disarmament as a result of the sheer volume of the March, or that had he found the ideas represented by the March more acceptable simply because he could identify with one or more marchers, he would have been chalked up as a successful "convert." The idea behind the March was not to pressure people into conforming, but rather to jolt them from the cozy complacency that allows them to be lulled by talk of "deterrents" or "civilian defense," into an apathy that, as the placard said, is not neutral.

Now it is obvious that a phenomenon like the Aldermaston March could have produced this jolt through a straightforward appeal to fear alone. I myself feel that a disarmament based on fear and on fear alone could become an emotionalist's disarmament. The organizers of the March were intelligent, however, and kept the concept of what nuclear warfare could do in its proper place, that of a fact. Certainly that fact is frightening enough with no emotionalist embroidery.

Indeed, I think that the rightness of the organizers' policy in this respect was proved, in some measure, by the nearly universal press comment that "Aldermarch '60" was one of the most serious demonstrations of its kind ever seen in Britain. For me, the high point of the whole March was not being cheered by the 60,000 people awaiting the 40,000 marchers in Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday, but rather the complete silence, broken only by shuffling feet, that surrounded us as we walked up Whitehall, passing the Cenotaph and other British war memorials. News stories of the March this year that gave emphasis to bohemian antics and aching feet were almost outweighed by editorial expressions of the belief that "Although we do not agree with them, we appreciate their sobriety of demeanor and seriousness of purpose."

The Future

The main British sentiment for nuclear disarmament seems to be centered around these two points: (1) horror at the thought that Britain would unleash any nuclear weapon, and (2) disgust at the amount that is being spent and—as so clearly demon-

strated by the recent "Blue-Streak" fiasco—flagrantly wasted in an economy that suffers mightily from such diversion of capital. Now these two points are valid when taken within the wider context of other arguments for unilateral disarmament, but if the abandonment of British nuclear weapons is to be based on these two negative arguments alone, the results could be disastrous from a truly pacifist point of view.

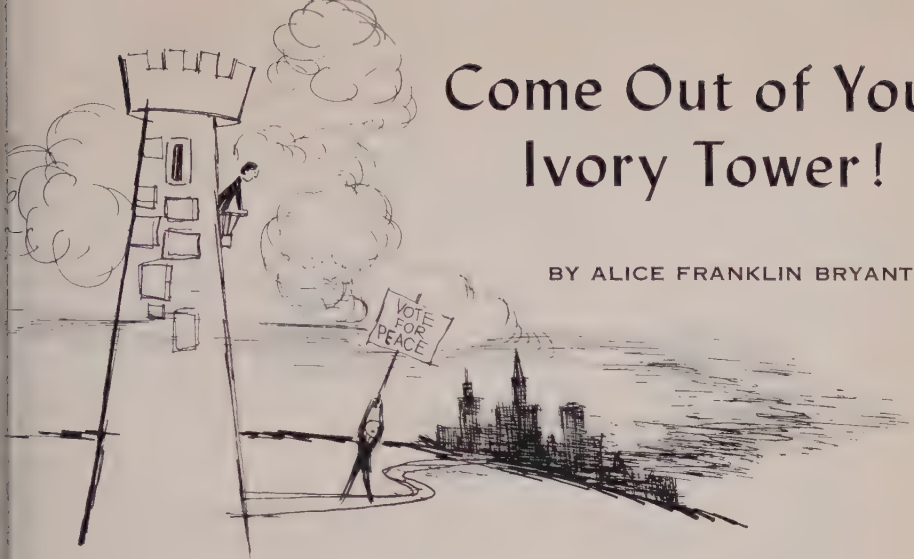
First of all, were Britain to end her nuclear weapons programs in the near future, there is little doubt in my mind that she would remain a firm, if somewhat passive member of NATO under the "protective shadow of begrudged American bases located on British soil. In such a situation the two arguments cited above would be answered (no British bombs or missiles would be fired from Britain; they would have been replaced by American weapons) and public protest would all too easily die down, leaving the true pacifist in his usual position: out on a limb all alone.

My somewhat pessimistic prognostications may prove entirely false—I would like to be the first to rejoice were they to do so. But I feel that if Britain is to be the first nation in modern history sane enough to throw her arms down voluntarily—all her arms, not just the nuclear ones—and to attempt to answer the real problems of the 20th century—hunger, poverty, sickness, ignorance, etc.—an intensification of the positive aspect of pacifism must be made. An idea of what direction can be taken by a newly neutral nation once she has laid down her arms and cleaned house of those belonging to other people, will have to be disseminated as least as well as the "fear" and "economy" arguments have been to date. "World Refugee Year" has had an encouraging response in Britain and could serve as a base to coordination of thinking. A "War on Want Year" might be a logical follow-up.

Sobriety, then, and not capering was the keynote of "Aldermarch '60," and I think all marchers drew increased strength to continue the campaign from the *Guardian* editorial of Easter Monday which stated "The prospects for a sensible nuclear strategy in the West look better than they have done for some time."

Come Out of Your Ivory Tower!

BY ALICE FRANKLIN BRYANT



THERE ARE MANY excellent pacifists who are energetically and practically working for peace, but according to my observations a far larger number of them are living in ivory towers. They are content to be peaceable, peace-loving, passive—putting in more time going to meetings and conferences than they spend in trying to do any real peace-making; and holding aloof from politics, the field in which peace-and-war issues are decided. One of them told me that all pacifists could expect was moral victories.

My theory is that there would be more moral victories if they came out of their ivory towers and worked in every practical way, including politics. Yet a pacifist magazine (not FELLOWSHIP) rejected an article on my campaign for the U.S. Senate on the ground that it was "too political."

My platform called for immediate ending of nuclear weapons tests; mutual disarmament under inspection; friendly foreign policy; full use and support of the United Nations; intelligent conversion to a peace economy; good housing, schools, scholarships; investment in welfare rather than warfare. In view of this platform and of my record of working consistently for peace ever since my liberation from Santo Tomas Internment Camp and repatriation in 1945, I would have expected this pacifist magazine to be interested in my campaign. It would be easy to understand a rejection on the ground that the article was not sufficiently interesting, meaty, well-

written; or if an abundance of better material was at hand. But, "too political"!

This magazine was very concerned to tell about and laud all forms of passive resistance and protest. These may do considerable good, but I am inclined to question whether pacifists may not overestimate what can be accomplished in this way. These demonstrations—lacking the mass support of Gandhi's—may be more impressive to pacifists than to others and may even make a negative impression on many.

However that may be, is it proper in a democracy to place such great emphasis on demonstrations and on civil disobedience while ignoring the possibilities of political activity? We are not living in a totalitarian country, but are citizens of a country in whose government we have the privilege and responsibility of taking part.

That pacifists can achieve more than moral victory was well demonstrated by Byron L. Johnson's election to Congress in 1958. William H. Meyer, who does not call himself a pacifist, but who ran on a peace platform and has been a powerful leader for peace in Congress, was also elected. If they could be elected in 1958, they can be re-elected in 1960, and others devoted to the cause of peace can be elected, if only they are strongly supported by the increasing number of people who realize that the arms race leads to destruction.

So, when such a candidate can be found, regardless of party lines and regardless of

the boundaries of states and Congressional districts, pacifists throughout the country should give him or her all-out support—including campaign contributions!

If the candidate wins, he will speak for all the peace-loving people of the United States. If he is not elected, he will have advanced public opinion by campaigning; and there is no hope for peace unless public opinion is advanced. The impact of the campaign depends both on the ability and forcefulness of the campaigner and on the amount of support he receives. So contributions and work given to the right campaign are not a loss, whether or not the candidate wins.

My Three Campaigns

These are matters about which I have especially poignant feelings and impressions, as I have run twice for Congress (1952 and '54) and once for U.S. Senate (1958)—in all cases on a peace platform. In the first campaign (for Congressman-at-large) a fair number of pacifists gave me some aid and encouragement. Actually, I expected to win, and might possibly have done so if an opponent had not had the same surname as our senior U.S. Senator, so that voters were confused and voted for the familiar name.

In the second campaign I ran in the First District of Washington against a man who had had two terms in Congress and who had previously been in the U.S. Senate by appointment. My chances, therefore, were not too good, and pacifist support faded. One pacifist told me of my supporters that I did not have much chance, so he was going to vote for my opponent. Should a pacifist in such a case vote for the probable winner, even though he never has done anything for peace? To me this seems improper, even if I had no chance at all. This attitude of fatalism and of jumping on the bandwagon makes impossible the miracles for which we should pray, hope and work.

I started my third campaign realizing that my chances were slim, as I was opposing the extremely militaristic incumbent, Senator Henry M. Jackson (who is at present urging a four or five billion dollar increase in "defense" spending and a resumption of bomb tests). An incumbent

is always a tough nut to crack. He is doubly tough for an opponent who belongs to his own party, as I did, for the party machine will work for the incumbent.

However, I reasoned that if I could get my message across to the people I did have a real, even though slim, chance of winning. According to a Gallup Poll of the preceding year, 63% of Americans wanted nuclear weapons testing stopped if other countries, including Russia, would agree, and only 27% wanted them continued. (In the question asked no mention was made of the terms of the agreement.) Logically this 63% should support me if I could reach them with my message. But that was so difficult, or even impossible, to do in a large state and with cramped funds. And what proportion of voters are logical?

A few pacifists responded with enthusiasm to this campaign waged on such clean-cut issues between such diametrically opposed candidates. But the great majority of pacifists, like most other people, including many thousands who thought I was absolutely right, did not contribute a dollar or an hour's work to my campaign.

Of course Henry Jackson won. Yet twice the *Seattle Times* reported that I was giving him a rough time, and the second time it said "the roughest time he has experienced in more than two decades of political life." I heard that he felt considerably shaken by my 55,200 votes, even though that was only a fraction of the number he received. I do not feel that I lost in this campaign—it accomplished something for the cause of peace. But it would have had far more impact if the people who thought I was right had helped. If they had—since they included not only the pacifists, but great many others—there was the outside chance that I might even have won.

Strangely enough, not a one of my campaigns left me with any sense of disappointment. Not a one denied my morale. So, in reminiscing thus I am not complaining as a hurt and disgruntled defeated candidate; nor am I writing to drum up support for a future campaign, as I am not planning one.

But I am writing with the purpose of getting pacifists to try to put their convictions to work in the ways most practical for peace. In this important election year

ny not look around for capable, informed
d enlightened people who could be
sted to work for reliance on peaceful
asures and urging them to run for of-
e? And of course supporting them and
her such candidates who appear upon
e political scene.

People who do not call themselves paci-
ts should not be ruled out, provided they
into the description just given. I have
ever called myself a pacifist and am sel-
om so called because I always try to make
ense to the most hardheaded. A number
favorable comments were given me when
spoke on "Radiation and the Race" in a
urch in Denver a few months ago. The
e I cherish came from a young man
no said, "This wasn't at all what I was
pecting. I thought it was going to be a
t of pacifist stuff. But what you said just
ade sense!"

I am sure that similarly what Byron
ohnson said in campaigning and more re-
cently in Congress "made sense." Many
pacifists can make sense to a general audi-
ence, but this is an art that needs to be
cultivated in pacifist circles.

The logic of our present situation plays
to their hands. Let them give more
ought to getting people to working for
peace. This is of far more importance than
getting an occasional person to the point
of calling himself a pacifist.

The message should be tailored to the
audience. Comparatively few can be
reached by putting issues on a moral or
idealistic plane. Issues need to be threshed
out in the most hardheaded way in terms
of people's self-interest. If that has been
accomplished, then perhaps the effect can
be enhanced by bringing out the moral
aspects of the issues. This, of course, is
especially possible and desirable in church-
es, where theological arguments, if clear
and easily grasped may also be used—*after*
the hardheaded arguments and to reinforce
them.

In this strategic year, should pacifists
cultivate this art of appealing to people
outside their fold and exert themselves to
find and support candidates devoted to
peace? There is already an entering wedge
of Congressmen not cowed into subservi-
ence by Pentagon, Atomic Energy Commis-
sion, Rand Corporation, General Dynam-
ics, etc. But not one U.S. Senator spoke
out last year against the giveaway of atomic
weapons parts and know-how to allied na-
tions, including Germany!

If peace-loving people, including paci-
fists, show real moral stamina in regard to
their civic responsibilities in 1960, they
can make important changes in the com-
position of both houses of Congress. This
would pave a highway to greater victories
for peace.



EXPOSÉ

I am the shell that awaits the word.

I am the gun that shoots the shell
That shocks the weeping flesh so well.

I am the hand that pulls the cord,
How more potent than the sword,
When that certain word is roared.

I am the voice that roars the word
That lifts aloft the lethal bird
When ordered by the one who's heard
From those who say it's time to gird.

I am the one who teaches to read
Those who spread the ancient creed

To the ones who fill the need
Of the hand that's learned to heed
The word that fathers forth the deed.

I am the one who works the drill,
Who tills the soil, who hates to kill,
Who backs with tax the shell one makes
To feed the hand of him who takes
The word that comes from certain men
Who give the word to fire when.

Who is the one who gives the word
To lift aloft the lethal bird?

I am the one who gives the word.

—LEO HAMALIAN

A Matter of Conviction

BY EDMUND G. BROWN



On May 2, as every newspaper reader knows, the State of California executed Caryl Chessman after twelve years of suspense in which his case aroused great interest all over the world. Two months before, California's Governor Edmund G. Brown had granted Chessman his eighth stay of execution in order to give the state legislature an opportunity to consider abolition of the death penalty. The legislature refused to act, but Governor Brown's message to it at that time seems to us one of the most effective brief statements against capital punishment that we have seen, and we reprint it here for our readers' information.—The Editors.

AS AN ACT of public conscience and from the experience of over a decade and a half in law enforcement work, I ask the Legislature to abolish the death penalty in California. There are powerful and compelling reasons why this should be done. It is not based on maudlin sympathy for the criminal and depraved. And although I believe the death penalty constitutes an affront to human dignity and brutalizes and degrades society, I do not merely for these reasons urge this course for our State.

I have reached this momentous resolution after 16 years of careful, intimate and personal experience with the application of the death penalty in this State. This experience embraces seven years as District Attorney of San Francisco, eight years as Attorney General of this State, and now 14 months as Governor. I have had a day-to-day, first-hand familiarity with crime and punishment surpassed by very few.

Society has both the right and moral duty to protect itself against its enemies. This natural and prehistoric axiom has never successfully been refuted. If by ordered death, society is really protected and our homes and institutions guarded, then

even the most extreme of all penalties can be justified.

But the naked, simple fact is that the death penalty has been a gross failure. Beyond its horror and incivility, it has neither protected the innocent nor deterred the wicked. The recurrent spectacle of public sanctioned killing has cheapened human life and dignity without the redeeming grace which comes from justice meted out swiftly, evenly, humanely.

The death penalty is invoked too randomly, too irregularly, too unpredictably and too tardily to be defended as an effective example warning away wrongdoing.

In California, for example, in 1955, there were 417 homicides. But only 52 defendants were convicted of first degree murder. And only 8, or 2%, were in fact sentenced to death. There can be no meaningful exemplary value in a punishment the incidence of which is but one to 50.

Nor is the death penalty to be explained as society's ultimate weapon of desperation against the unregenerate and perverse. A study of executions over a 15-year period produces the startling facts that of 100 condemned cases, 49% of those executed had never previously suffered a prior

y; that 75% of them came from families which had been broken by divorce, separation or otherwise when the condemned was still in his teens.

Again I say, that if this most drastic of actions could be substantially to serve the ends of legal justice by adding to our safety and security, it would deserve some greater place in our respect. But no available data from any place or time that I have been able to find from research over many years gives support to the grand argument that the presence or absence of the death penalty exerts any substantial effect upon the incidence of homicide. Indeed, the report of the British Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, one of the most universally respected and objected studies ever made on the subject, is that there is no clear evidence that the abolition of capital punishment has ever led to an increase in the homicide rate. The Royal Commission concluded, as has nearly every other scientific survey of the problem, that factors other than the presence or absence of the death penalty account for the homicide rate in any given area.

Specifically, the death penalty has been abolished in nine states (Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Rhode Island, North Dakota, Maine, Alaska and Hawaii) and in 30 foreign countries (as Sweden, Belgium, Norway, Italy, Western Germany, Puerto Rico, Austria and 22 others).

In none of these states has the homicide rate increased, and indeed, in comparison with other states their rates seem somewhat lower. And these rates are lower not because of the death penalty but because of particular social organization, composition of population, economic and political conditions.

I have attached to this document a map of the United States in which the various states are shaded to indicate their murder rate over a 10-year period from 1948 through 1957, compiled by the California Department of Corrections. It shows graphically that the states without capital punishment along with several others which do retain the death penalty have the least incidence of homicides. And in striking contrast, 12 southern states have the highest homicide rate of all.

This last points up the most glaring

weakness of all, and that is that, no matter how efficient and fair the death penalty may seem in theory, in actual practice in California as elsewhere it is primarily inflicted upon the weak, the poor, the ignorant, and against racial minorities. In California, and in the nation as a whole, the overwhelming majority of those executed are psychotic or near-psychotic, alcoholic, mentally defective, or otherwise demonstrably mentally unstable. In the experience of former wardens Lewis Lawes of Sing Sing and Clinton P. Duffy of San Quentin, seldom are those with funds or prestige convicted of capital offenses, and even more seldom are they executed.

The shading of the attached map shows the disproportionate rate of homicides in the southern states, all of which zealously apply the death penalty.

The Defenseless and Downtrodden

As shocking as may be the statistics in our deep South where the most extensive use of the death penalty is made and against the most defenseless and downtrodden of the population, the Negroes, let it be remembered too that in California, in the 15-year period ending in 1953, covering 110 executions, 30% were of Mexicans and Negroes, more than double the combined population percentages of these two groups at the time. Indeed, only last year, 1959, out of 48 executions in the United States, 21 only were whites, while 27 were of Negroes. These figures are not mine. I tender them to you for critical examination and comparison. But I believe you will find them compelling evidence of the gross unfairness and social injustice which has characterized the application of the death penalty.

And finally, I bring to your attention the lessons I have learned here, in California, in 16 years of public service, but especially since I became Governor. Last January I inaugurated the practice of personally conducting executive clemency hearings in every death case upon request. Every such case is carefully investigated and comes to me complete with transcripts, investigative reports, and up-to-date psychological, neuropsychiatric, and sociological evaluations.

These are all hard cases to review and

consider. There have been 19 of them these past 14 months. They present a dreary procession of sordid, senseless violence, perpetrated by the wandering outcasts of the state. Not a single one of these 19 accomplished a pittance of material gain. Nine of the 19 suffered obvious and deep mental imbalance. In the only three cases where actual murder was entertained by conscious design, sickness of mind was clinically established to have existed for many years. All of them were products of the hinterlands of social, economic, and educational disadvantage.

Six of these I have commuted to life imprisonment without possibility of parole. Eight of them we have given unto the executioner: miserable, bewildered sacrifices. We have taken their lives. But I have seen in the files and transcripts, in the books which we have now closed upon them, that who they were and where they were, played just as big a part in their ultimate condemnation as what they did. And I saw also that, but for just the slightest twist of circumstances, these 19 might have received a term of years as did the other 98% of those who killed.

I have studied their cases and I know that not a single execution has ever halted the sale of a single gun or restrained a moment's blind rage.

The Possibility of Error

And in these cases, too, there looms always the ugly chance that innocent men may be condemned, however careful are our courts and juries. Our judicial system gives us pride, but tempered by the realization that mankind is subject to error.

And this to me has been no idle fear. Within six months after I became Governor there came to me the duty to pardon a man who had, despite the care of court and counsel of his choice, been convicted of the willful slaying of his wife.

This man, John Henry Fry by name, admittedly under the influence of alcohol at the time of the crime, stood convicted by the force of circumstances which he could not explain. Happily, he was not executed. And last June 16 we pardoned him for that which he had never done.

Here, but for the grace of God, there might now be on our hands the blood of

a man, poor, ignorant, friendless—and innocent.

I issue this call for consideration of the death penalty as a matter of conviction and conscience.

It is a Governor's task to present to the Legislature those matters on which he feels action is important and urgent, and to make clear his position and the principles for which he stands.

The Legislature, directly representing the people, has a wisdom of its own and an independent function for which I have the greatest respect.

I am a realist and know the great resistance to what I propose. But public leadership must face up to the humane as well as economic and social issues of our communities. And it is not enough for those charged with public responsibility to be content to cope with just the immediate and readily attainable—the basic and long-range values of our society must also constantly be brought into fuller reality. I believe the entire history of our civilization is a struggle to bring about a greater measure of humanity, compassion and dignity among us. I believe those qualities will be the greater when the action proposed here is achieved—and not just for the wretches whose execution is changed to life imprisonment, but for each of us.

Finally, I urge that the deliberations on this profound issue, whatever the outcome be conducted with reason and restraint. There is already too much senseless violence and vituperation in our lives. Conscientious people may differ, but the ultimate issue here is clear. Can law and order be maintained as well or better if capital punishment is abolished?

Whatever the decision, I urge every one of us to search his conscience carefully and fully. In the final outcome of that I have full confidence.

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Fellowship

WILL A REMILITARIZED JAPAN BE "SECURE"?

On June 22, the United States Senate, in a 90-2 vote, ratified a new "mutual security" treaty between this country and Japan. Those who voted against it were Senators Long of Louisiana and Russell of Georgia, who thought the pact was "one-sided" in favor of Japan. Many who voted for it expressed reservations in view of what Senator Hubert Humphrey acknowledged as "widespread sentiment" in Japan against the treaty.

Newspaper headlines all last month characterized demonstrations against the treaty as "leftist" and "Communist-inspired," although *The New York Times* once conceded that the riots that caused President Eisenhower to cancel his Tokyo visit were led by "a generation of Japanese students educated since World War II," and that "strains of fanatical pacifism and neutralism" were represented.

The American press generally played up the "angry mob" side of the protests, ignoring some of the salient facts of the situation.

According to David Makoto Goto, Episcopal Bishop of Tokyo, most of Tokyo's 50,000 Christians opposed the pact because it is a direct violation of the Japanese Constitution, which renounces militarism.

Mrs. Tamaki Uemura, national chairman of the Japanese YWCA, backed up by her executive committee, wrote to the White House, opposing the treaty. Prof. Iwao Ayusawa, president of the Japanese FOR, reported that flags from Tokyo's five Christian universities and the Tokyo YMCA were in evidence among the demonstrators -- although most Christian students have concentrated on peaceful picketing, mass rallies and a petition campaign.

On the day the treaty was put into effect, an estimated six million members of 100 labor unions suspended work for several hours as a protest; and the Socialist Party, with 125 representatives in the Japanese Diet, vowed a

prolonged fight to repeal the treaty.

The treaty is supposed to safeguard the "security" of both Japan and the U.S. Its visible results so far have been to revive right-wing militarism (Premier Kishi himself is a former Class-A war criminal) and nurture the resurgence of the *Zaibatsu*, Japan's munitions-minded industrialists, at the expense of Christian conscience and the democratic aspirations of youth. The developing situation is reminiscent of Germany, circa 1930.

Adding to the somber implications of this move an international situation already muddled by the U-2 incident, isn't it a pretty far-fetched illusion to think that "security" has been attained?

American opposition to the treaty is feeble. It is summed up in a statement sponsored by some 400 clergymen, issued by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which called upon the U.S. to abandon the treaty and seek a security based on "total world disarmament." The statement noted that the treaty contains "no provision against introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan" and suggested that the money it would cost to rearm Japan could be spent better in "eliminating illiteracy, raising standards of living and reducing the social tensions" among the hungry millions in Asia.

In Japan, which has known the atomic bomb, virtually the whole Christian community has stood up for peace. In America, only a few hundred. How long, O Lord, how long?

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

"Polaris Action" Begins Anti-War Campaign

An urgent plea to end the arms race was emblazoned across the sail of the 23-foot peace sloop "Satyagraha" which greeted participants in the 2nd Annual Folk Festival in Newport, R. I., last month. The project, part of a plan to encourage festival crowds to join in Polaris Action, a summer-long campaign protesting the manufacture of Polaris missile-firing submarines in the New London-Groton, Conn., area, was initiated by the Committee for Nonviolent Action.

Earlier, in New London, leaflets detailing help available for people willing to make the transition from war work to useful work were distributed among local striking defense workers by team members. The group told workers "We hope you win the strike," but urged them to consider the moral implications of the weapons they help produce.

Polaris Action, which began with a 125-mile walk from New York to New London, started on June 10.

Persons interested in helping with mailings, phoning, rally promotion, publicity or joining one of the projects should write: CNVA, 13 North Bank St., New London, Conn.

Vanderbilt Nine to Return

Nine Vanderbilt Divinity School faculty members withdrew their resignations last month following acceptance by Vanderbilt University of a "compromise" settling the bitter faculty-administration dispute over the expulsion in

March of Divinity Student James M. Lawson Jr. for his leadership in local lunch counter sit-in demonstrations. A joint statement issued by eight of the returnees pointed out that withdrawal of their resignations "should not be understood as in any way approving the summary dismissal of Dean Nelson from his official duties...which dismissal we consider to be unjust and ungracious."

Lawson rejected the "compromise" for himself, which would give him until September 15 to obtain a Bachelor of Divinity from the school, because it was reached "at the expense of Dean Nelson."

French Demonstrators Arrested

More than 1,000 French demonstrators were arrested in Paris, Marseilles and Dijon on May 28 for participating in nonviolent direct action protests against detention camps for Algerian suspects. Demonstrators had their clothes ripped and glasses stamped on, while attacks were made against them inside police vans.

In Paris, large numbers staged a sit-down protest just off the Champs-Élysées when police halted their march to the Ministry of the Interior. (See photo). Although most of the partici-



pants were newcomers to the pacifist form of protest, they ignored provocation and remained dignified throughout. The demonstration was the fifteenth such action in the city since the 1,000-strong protests in the suburb of Vincennes on April 30.

Eighty percent of the participants were young people and about one third were women.

NEWS from the peace front

The Crusade Against Poverty (Committee for Danilo Dolci) has pledged \$50 monthly to support medical services at the Dolci center in Partinico, Sicily. The money will help pay a full-time doctor and two full-time nurses, who staff two small clinics. The total expense of salaries, rent for buildings, medicines, etc., is about \$200 monthly.

Among the sponsors of the Crusade are FOR members Richard B. Gregg, Mel F. S. Ferré, Albert Edward Day, John Oliver Nelson, William Robert Miller, Norman J. Whitney and others. The Chairman is FOR member Gelston McNeil, 26A Devereux St., Utica 2, N. Y., to whom contributions may be sent.

Danilo Dolci, the "Italian Gandhi," has dedicated himself to a nonviolent crusade against poverty among the destitute peasants of Sicily

Over 3,000 people attended the British FOR's rally, "Plan for Peace—Christian Challenge," held at the Royal Albert Hall in London on May 16. Speakers included Dr. Martin Niemöller, Dr. Donald Soper, the Bishop of Llandaff and other church leaders; and the event was reported on the radio and in the religious press.

The level of strontium-90 in the total diet of young Americans is significantly higher than has been indicated by tests on milk, according to a recent Consumer's Union study. CU's total diet samples averaged almost 12 strontium units, more than one-third of the Public Health Service's recently revised "maximum permissible limit" for milk. The findings show considerable variation from city to city, ranging from a high of more than half this "limit" down to a low of one-sixth. In view of the highly unstable nature of "maximum permissible limits," such safe-sounding percentages are not especially reassuring.

A West European international conference of student pastors meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, last month ap-

pealed to the World Council of Churches to "bring about the right to conscientious objection in all countries of Europe."

The meeting was attended by 45 student chaplains representing eight different countries.

Pacifist author Henry David Thoreau and pacifist social worker Jane Addams were among the three leading candidates recommended last month (with inventor Thomas A. Edison) for enshrinement in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans.

According to recent word from the South African FOR, 1575 people were being "detained" by the South African government as of April 30 under "emergency regulations" which also forbids mention of any of the detainees by name. At least one FOR member and a number of FOR sympathizers are among them. In addition, hundreds of Africans have been sentenced to terms up to three years for acts of conscience judged illegal under South Africa's racist laws.

Seven restaurants, five of them Hot Shoppes, abandoned lunch counter segregation in Arlington, Va., last month. It was the first such action by well-known restaurants in the state.

All the luncheonette facilities in the Nashville, Tenn., W. T. Grant Store were also integrated last month, following negotiations with the chain's national office and a boycott of its New York Harlem stores conducted by the Congress of Racial Equality.

Grant had been holding out against the change, while six other Nashville store lunch counters were integrating successfully.

An appeal urging the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in discussions of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference now under way in Ge-

(Continued on next page)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please allow 4 weeks—supply both old and new address.

neva was issued last month by the Program for Disarmament in Nyack, N.Y. The statement argued that "if disarmament is to be universal, it is as essential for China to be a party to any disarmament agreement as it is for the Soviet Union and the United States." For similar reasons the appeal also urged that China have a seat in the United Nations.

Among the signers of the appeal were C. Wright Mills, Stringfellow Barr, Rep. William H. Meyer, and FOR members Henry Hitt Crane, Homer A. Jack, Rep. Byron Johnson and others.

Alabama's 1951 winner of the Miss America Contest, Yolande Betbeze Fox, and many actors from the Broadway show "Raisin in the Sun" were among those who picketed the F. W. Woolworth store at 44th Street in New York City last month, protesting the chain's lunch counter discrimination policy in the South.

"Every Southerner I know in New York, without exception," Miss Fox remarked, "is in favor of the Congress of Racial Equality."

A Japanese edition of Allan Hunter's *Courage in Both Hands* (now out of print in the U.S.) was published last month. The chief translator is Mokuji P. Sato. Dr. Hunter's most recent book is *Christians in the Arena*, published in 1958 as a \$1.50 paperback by Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

MISSING MEMBERS

Some FOR members' present addresses are unknown and mail sent to them has been returned to the National Office. From time to time we shall list a few. If you know the whereabouts of any of these missing members, please advise the Membership Secretary, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Here are the names, with last-known address for each: Labib Abboud (Amer. Univ., Beirut, Lebanon); Francis G. Akin Abul (78 Carey St., Monrovia, Liberia); Rev. Oscar M. Adams (216 W. 4 St., Port Angeles, Wash.); Kate Adams (917 N. 11 St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.); Louis M. Adams (Rte. 5, Covington, Ky.); Paul L. Adams (855 Louise Circle, Durham, N.C.).

DATES TO REMEMBER

July 8-10. FOR National Conference at Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, 2606 Dwight Way, Berkeley, Calif. Speakers: Dr. Robert Fitch, Alfred Hassler, Glenn Smiley. Write: Lois V. Hamer, 1205 West Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.

July 16-17. FOR National Conference at Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, Prospect at Rodney, Hollywood, Calif. Speakers: Rep. Byron L. Johnson, Dr. Theodore Anderson, Alfred Hassler, Glenn Smiley. Write: Lois V. Hamer, 1205 West Jefferson Blvd. Los Angeles 7, Calif.

The Status Quo and Dynamic Peacemaking

Christians in this land, and all over the world, must throw their very lives into the breach on behalf of the things that make for peace; not a peace of the Status Quo that simply wants to keep things as they are; for a peace that is dynamic, creative; a peace that does not look back toward the so-called "good old days," which in reality were not so good at all, but a peace that looks forward toward the realization of the purposes of God. And let the church begin with itself; otherwise we make a mockery of the Gospel, and a farce of the church which is the body of Christ, and we crucify our Lord again upon the cross of our pride, our arrogance, our selfishness.

--Dr. Herbert Gezork, President of the American Baptist Convention, in address on June 2.



Pacifism

ENTERS A

New Phase

BY A. J. MUSTE

WHEN the Fellowship of Reconciliation was launched late in 1914 in England and the following year in this country, World War I had suddenly engulfed Europe. This was a Europe which as yet exercised an unchallenged domination in world affairs. No nations had been very busy conquering the heathen who in their blindness bowed down to wood and stone. Consequently Europe had experienced internal peace and prosperity for more than four decades.

Respected authors had been writing best sellers which demonstrated that in an industrialized and highly civilized world such as the 20th century had achieved, war could no longer happen.

The United States was presently drawn into this war that could not happen but proved to be the greatest of all time. True to the spirit of that era, this country went on under a President who a few months before had spoken in praise of a nation "too proud to fight," since war was an anachronism and a blight on civilized society.

Contrary to the expectation of many, World War I did not prove to be the last major war among civilized nations. Those of us who in the 1920s pointed out that the power struggle had been intensified, not abated; that basic political and economic issues were not being resolved in the innumerable peace conferences, governmental and private, proved to be cor-

rect. The basic trend in the Western world was steadily, and, from 1936 on, precipitately toward the far more terrible World War II.

As the event showed, for the United States World War I had not represented a heroic and sacrificial intervention of a new kind of nation to put an end to the wars of old Empires and thus to usher in a golden age for mankind. Instead, it had marked the definitive embarkation of the United States itself on the career of Empire.

It may be noted, parenthetically, that in the developments which led to World War II the then weak and sore beset Soviet Union played a very minor part, however that part may be judged on the basis of its own purported "revolutionary ethics."

Hiroshima and Nagasaki stand at the end of World War II as reminders of the fact that the astonishing flowering of war and the technology of mass destruction which marked the first half of the 20th century Anno Domini had—with the nuclear breakthrough—reached both its culmination and its end, if, that is, the race itself is to survive. War in the old sense—certainly so far as major powers are concerned—no longer exists. Nuclear war is not a rational instrument of policy, but of suicide.

One more factor in the political history of these four decades needs to be mentioned in this skeleton outline, namely that out of the Christian West's practical atheism—its concept of politics founded on power

as autonomous, not essentially integrated with the West's professed morality—and out of its savage and socially unsettling wars, the Christian West created its present enemy: the Communist empire or empires. Ideologically, this empire avows as the key to history the doctrine of power as autonomous, as supplying its own morality, which the West practiced.

There are, by the way, times when it appears that a certain Mr. Khrushchev understands the irony that this has happened precisely when the instruments of power are no longer usable except for self-annihilation. There appears to be a massive dialectic operating here.

Pacifism Between the Wars

The contemporary pacifist movement, the various pacifist organizations with which we are here dealing, are essentially a product of World War I and the revolution against that war. (For the moment we leave India out of consideration). This Western type of pacifism, at least until after World War II, was almost entirely confined to the Anglo-Saxon world, indeed mainly to Great Britain and the United States.

No doubt, as our critics allege, it was to a considerable extent the beneficiary of Anglo-Saxon libertarian traditions and practices and of the expanding or at least relatively prosperous economies of that world between the two World Wars. This pacifism has also been marked by the Anglo-Saxon emphasis on the individual and individual responsibility, part of the ethos of Protestantism and capitalism also. Its main expression in the political field is that of conscientious objection to war. Whatever society might do, the individual must obey his conscience, the teaching of Christ, the leading of the Spirit.

There were those between the World Wars, however, who held that pacifism, nonviolence, was also a concept, a spirit, a strategy to be applied to politics, to economic, social and political struggle. Until recently they were a minority. When pacifists did enter into political issues, such as disarmament, the programs they set forth tended to be those in which nonpacifist liberals would join, that is, not distinctive-ly pacifist.

Meantime in India, in this between-the-wars period, Gandhi set forth and practiced a different form of pacifism or nonviolence. In the case of himself and his closest followers it was indeed based upon a profound personal commitment and discipline. But it was essentially concerned with political, economic and social struggle and construction. It was a socio-political and not primarily a personal or individualistic phenomenon. For the most part Gandhians have seemed to me curiously unresponsive to the form of conscientious objection to war common in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Gandhi was a saint immersed, though not submerged, in politics.

It is important also to note that he found in existence a mass impulse for independence among his people and also an organization, the Indian National Congress. His problem in this respect was very different from that which at least until very recently confronted pacifists in the West who were going counter to the national way, Gandhi persuaded the Congress—the mass organization—to accept nonviolence. The mass impulse to independence consequently expressed itself in an unconventional way.

Furthermore, politically the Indian movement succeeded. India achieved its independence.

The Gandhian movement began to make a substantial impact in this country after World War I. Its philosophy and methods were applied in the first instance in the racial struggle. It was the FOR that pioneered this development.

The Nuclear Age & Mass Action

We have now hastily sketched the main line of development since 1915 in the broad field of world relationships and in the pacifist movement.

This brings us to the Here and Now of the nuclear age. This Here and Now is to an extent that we are as yet hardly able to realize, different from the There and Then. Here we must confine ourselves, however, to suggesting the orientation of the pacifist movement in this new period.

The shift of emphasis is toward the Gandhian, the socio-political expression of nonviolence, rather than toward the tradi-

onal Anglo-Saxon, more individualistic type. Put very simply, to young people to-day the question of what one's personal position is to be if nuclear war breaks out, seems a very minor if not wholly academic matter. For them the question is how such a war, and the perpetration of it by any nation, can be prevented.

Instead of becoming pacifists in the sense of conscientious objectors to war first and then, considering whether nonviolence may have some relevance for national policy, young people, and older as well, are now drawn to the conclusion that national security, honor and spiritual survival depend on the unequivocal renunciation of nuclear war. Then they have to face the question of what this means for them as individuals. Once it was: Can I ask the nation to take the same stand as I do? Now it is: If I see the nation has to take this road, what does that imply for me?

Willy-nilly we operate now in the realm of political decision. We are not as yet, have perhaps in a very limited sense, a mass movement. But we are not any longer a sectarian movement (I use "sectarian" here in a good sense) existing apart from the main currents of political decision and affecting them only in a very long-range and indirect sense. We now function in mass movements and have an impact on them.

Nonviolence applied to international relations, to national struggles for independence, and to race struggles, is a significant factor in contemporary political life. The word "nonviolence" is an indispensable one in the modern world, a world which Herman Kahn, one of the toughest and most "realistic" of the power-politicians and Pentagon braintrusters, neatly characterizes as one "in which force is tending to be increasingly less usable."

Nonviolence in Africa's Struggle

On April 7-10, 1960, I attended in Accra, Ghana, a Conference on Positive Action for the Peace and Security of Africa. To a considerable extent the Ghanaian Prime

Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, had been moved to call such a continental conference by his contact with Michael Scott and the International Sahara Protest Team led by him, which toward the end of 1959 made several attempts to penetrate through French territory to the French atomic test site at Reggan in the Sahara. The example of "nonviolent positive action" set by the Team had made a profound impression in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa. Nkrumah had become convinced that much bigger nonviolent efforts to change French nuclear policy should be made and that "training centers in nonviolence" should be set up.



The Accra Conference was thoroughly representative. All the independent states of Africa (including Egypt) were officially represented. There were also representatives of the important political organizations of the not yet independent countries.

Also invited as non-voting delegates and consultants were over a score of leading pacifists and Gandhians from all over the world. Inevitably the Conference dealt with such matters as South Africa and Algeria, and it was not a gathering of pacifists. However, Commission I of the Conference dealt with nuclear war and in particular French nuclear policy in Africa. Among the resolutions unanimously adopted by that Commission and unanimously ratified by the whole conference is one which reads:

We salute the Anti-Sahara Atom Test Protest Team led by the Rev. Michael Scott for its effort to stop the French atom test in the Sahara and we call upon all independent African states and African peoples to continue these noble efforts by the *establishment of Volunteer Training Centers for nonviolence demonstrations* against further nuclear tests in the Sahara.

That a representative all-African conference should give so much attention to nonviolent action is certainly significant. But there is more. On the day after the Conference closed, Prime Minister Nkrumah summoned to his residence a few persons who had been actively connected

with the Sahara Protest. There he declared that action pursuant to the above Conference resolution ought to be undertaken immediately. He asked two members of the team to make themselves available full-time as the core of a staff to start organizing a nuclear protest which might involve as many as a thousand African volunteers, and setting up a Training Center for Nonviolent Positive Action in Accra. The Prime Minister stated that the equivalent of \$28,000 would be available as an initial appropriation. A manifesto and an outline for a nonviolent program in various African struggles, drawn up by several Sahara team members, will appear as an appendix, under the heading "Manifesto of the Sahara Protest Team," in an official Conference document along with all Conference resolutions and the Prime Minister's opening and closing addresses. This document will be circulated all over Africa.

It is not impossible that this projection of the idea of nonviolence in Africa on a continental scale may prove the beginning of the most important development in the nonviolence movement since Gandhi launched the Indian nonviolent movement for independence forty years ago.

Mass Movements Elsewhere

In the Negro struggle for first-class citizenship in the South and especially in the magnificent uprising of Negro students, we have another powerful illustration of the fact that nonviolence now operates in the realm of mass activity and political decision. The symbolic figures in that struggle are Martin Luther King Jr., an FOR member, and James Lawson, an FOR field secretary. CORE, which is playing a significant part, started as a department of the FOR.

To turn to the field of international relations and peace policy, recently two non-pacifist theologians, Prof. Harold De Wolf of Boston University School of Theology and Prof. Norman K. Gottwald of Andover-Newton Theological School have drawn

up a statement which calls for unequivocal rejection of any use of nuclear weapons and of the policy of deterrence and for unilateral action by the United States to divest itself of its nuclear, chemical, biological and radiological weapons. This statement has been signed by all but one of the members of the Boston University School of Theology faculty, all the faculty members of Andover-Newton, and several of the faculty of the Harvard Divinity School and the Episcopal Seminary at Cambridge. Independently, a statement reaching similar conclusions has recently been drawn up and issued by seven leading members of the Presbyterian Seminary at Dubuque University.



Parallel to such statements emanating from theological circles is one also demanding absolute abandonment of the deterrence policy and "independent initiative" on the part of the United States to rid itself of nuclear weapons, signed by such leading intellectuals, not hitherto linked with pacifism, as David Riesman, outstanding sociologist; the psychoanalyst Erich Fromm; H. Stuart Hughes, professor of history at Harvard and grandson of the famous Republican statesman of an earlier day, Charles Evans Hughes; and Irving Howe, literary critic and editor of *Dissent*.

The *New York Times* carried on its front page on Easter Monday a picture and story of this year's Aldermaston March in England conducted by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The most conservative estimate is that 75,000 attended the rally in Trafalgar Square which ended the March. Informed students of British history are quoted as saying that there have been no such popular demonstrations in England since the days of the Chartist movement more than a century and a quarter ago!

Probably of even more significance are developments recently reported in the *New York Post* by its Paris correspondent Joseph Barry, from France, which until recently has been almost wholly impervious both to the concept of individual con-

tentious objection to war and to Gan-
gian corporate nonviolence. Barry re-
marks that "no youth movement in my
memory of three decades—or in the study
of a few more—has been as moving as that
of the Negro students in the American
South. It has a midnight courage that
makes our own anti-facist days parentally
improved boy-scoutism, in comparison."
Then he adds: "And now it is beginning
to appear in this land of Latin belligerence
and barricades."

He goes on to tell of a "silent march of
100 led by a professor of philosophy toward
camp at Thol, not far from Lyons, where
100 Algerian Moslems are interned. The
100 marchers asked the authorities to in-
tern them also," saying that they preferred
to suffer injustice than to be accomplices
of it. . . . We have decided to enter upon
civil disobedience, so that we too might
be imprisoned."

Barry points out in the same column that
a decisive majority of the National Union
of French Students, which contains half
of the college students of the whole country,
at a recent conference voted for negotia-
tions with the Algerian FLN, and quotes
the editor of the important newspaper
L'Express as writing that before long there
will be a large-scale "collective refusal to
fight with the army in Algeria" among
French youth!

The Task of Our Fellowship

To list such evidences, and there are
many more, that the pacifist movement has
entered upon a new phase is to state a
problem, the problem of a program to
meet this challenge and opportunity. We
have here no time to supply the answer,
even if we had it. But we can briefly men-
tion some considerations which bear upon
the answer and are especially relevant on
the occasion of an FOR Anniversary.

In the first place, when I say that we are
now in a political struggle, I do not mean
that we are to become a political party or
an adjunct of one; though one of the
important facts of American political life
today is that radical pacifism is the only
substantial element now in the non-Com-
munist "Left," which is otherwise frag-
mented and weakened, if not extinguished.
Of course, the Communist Party has also

become politically insignificant, (J. Edgar
Hoover to the contrary notwithstanding.)

The whole question as to what, if any,
is the role of a political party in the pres-
ent period is now posed. With the possible
exception of England, it is hard to find a
single authentic instance of a genuine two-
party system in operation. Certainly the
prevailing trend is toward a one-party
regime, which, according to former stand-
ards, is a non-party set-up. However, as
such names as Martin Luther King, James
Lawson and Michael Scott suggest, there
are other ways than through a party to
exercise influence on political decisions.

In the second place, in stressing our in-
volvement in political decision, I am not
suggesting that our role is *political* rather
than *moral*, but precisely the contrary.
One of the great sources of our trouble
is that political scientists and politicians,
abetted by far too many Christian the-
ologians, alas, have conceived of the realm
of politics or power as largely autonomous,
subject to its own laws, driven by its own
"destiny" or by "historical forces." It fol-
lowed that the moral imperative, the
"normative principle" of love, operated
only tangentially and superficially on po-
litical institutions and struggles.

Every problem became one of strategy
rather than ethics. How much do you have
to give away before you can be practically
effective, until finally there isn't anything
to give away any more. It has been made
clear now that in one realm this concept
of power as autonomous leads to the
nihilism of Hitlerism and Stalinism and in
another realm to the nihilism of nuclear
war and war preparation in which we are
ourselves entangled.

Our *political* task is precisely, in Martin
Buber's magnificent formulation, "to drive
the plowshare of the normative principle
into the hard soil of political reality."

The FOR and the Church

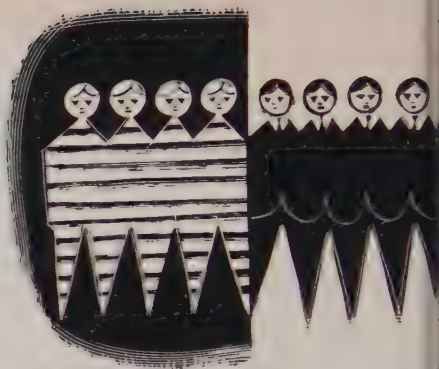
In the next place, I am not suggesting
that our role is outside the Church rather
than in it. On the contrary, I think our
most natural and promising field of ac-
tivity as a Fellowship is in the churches,
and the emergence of such tendencies as
we have already cited make this field more

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 34)

Crime and Conformity

AN ARTICLE-REVIEW

BY ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE



THE MANY SINCERE and intelligent people who dedicate their lives to studying the behavior of the delinquent and the criminal make a basic commitment at some point which colors all their efforts. They take a position as to whether or not the people and behavior called delinquent and criminal are undesirable. They see themselves as either aiding or not aiding the engineering of more conformity to the reasonable and legal demands of police authorities.

The commitment is one made for most law-abiding people by their social matrices, their family, social class and ethnic tradition. A delinquency or crime in personal or family background may serve to exaggerate the unmixed undesirability of such social deviation.

What is reported to be a rising tide of juvenile delinquency agitates many concerned people deeply. The explanations for the current tide are various and contradictory. The ways to engineer a decline in delinquent and criminal deviations are at least as various and as contradictory. Re-

taliatory punishment, impoundment and prayer are the most common panaceas. But why stress the consequences of a commitment to which few would discern or admit any tenable alternative?

If delinquency is a wholly undesirable deviation, then the problem of coping with it becomes largely one of dealing with individuals or their families or even with groups of individuals or families who somehow went "wrong." To accomplish such goals, it may become necessary to try to influence society at large to take different attitudes toward those labeled delinquent and criminal. Institutional arrangements for dealing with them might also have to be modified. But no basic re-assessment of the relations of criminality to our culture and subcultures is to be undertaken. The societal status quo is that to which all normal individuals should assimilate themselves. Thus more and more of the people in society are to be influenced to become normal in such a sense.

Two examples of this approach to prevention or correction may suffice. Gresham Sykes says, in talking about a narrow phase of the problem, that "any effort to reform the prison—and thus to reform the criminal—which ignores this social system of the prison is as futile as the labors of Sisyphus." This is like a plea to opponents of the war system to try to work from within the military establishment. A broader illustration is Sheldon Glueck's assertion that it "is not hard to suggest the need of broad, general programs for the abolition of poverty, for better housing for improvement of 'the status of the working class,' for application of the lessons drawn by some persons from genetics, etc.,

WHO ARE THE GUILTY? A STUDY OF EDUCATION AND CRIME by David Abrahamsen. Grove Press 1958. 340 pp., \$1.95.

THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY edited by Sheldon Glueck. Houghton Mifflin 1959. 1183 pp., \$10.50.

UNDERSTANDING AND PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY by Haskell M. Miller. Abingdon 1958. 191 pp., \$1.95.

THE SOCIETY OF CAPTIVES by Gresham M. Sykes. Princeton University Press 1958. 144 pp., \$3.75.

he contends "it is best that efforts be directed at relatively well-defined targets." Hence he directs his attention chiefly to the individual. That the social class and societal contexts of delinquency contain pressing problems do not greatly concern Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck. The former quotes a joint study that finds that a significantly lower proportion of the delinquents than the non-delinquents have "neurotic handicaps." This does not lead them into probing the nature of the culture and subcultures in which both groups have grown up. Could it be that the delinquents were less neurotic because their delinquency represents for them in their social setting a less frustrating adjustment than trying to be non-delinquent? Glueck brushes aside such a suggestion from A. K. Cohen.

If one is open-minded and curious about whether or not delinquency and crime are desirable personally, socially and societally, depending upon the individual's situation, then a whole range of possibilities for understanding these deviations broadens out. Investigation can become much less restricted, protective, artificial. Without a commitment to think such behavior undesirable, it is possible to consider why a moral motive is so suspect throughout most groups in our society. Why is a plea of commercial self-interest so commonly accepted as a justification for a great many types of behavior which are far from praiseworthy by other criteria? Just where is the

line that divides the criminal from the non-criminal in a psychological and sociological sense and not just as one sees the distinction acted out in our practical struggles over the maintenance of existing social control patterns? Why do these books fail to discuss the relationship of war, the war system, and military training to delinquency and to crime and crime-like behavior? Why do they leave out of their theorizings those dangerous "criminals," conscientious objectors against various aspects of conformism and manipulation?

Along such lines, the present books are not very helpful. David Abrahamsen claims a need for a "broad basic program of mental hygiene and of general enlightenment in which the whole community can be mobilized, extending from churches to Boy Scout groups and parent-teacher organizations." He thus cannot see beyond the techniques of his own psychiatric profession and the institutional arrangements common to middle-class groups. Haskell Miller has a similar class orientation, the spread of which would presumably diminish delinquency. He would accomplish this by challenging churches and churchmen to do the job. Sykes paints an impressive picture of the power of the prison's informal social system and then contends, as is noted above, that reform has to be in its terms. But what about our widespread, stupendous, and largely undetected white-collar criminality? What is delinquency? What is crime?



WARP

What is the warp in man
That makes him war?
Is it as simple as
A push for power—
For greater power than he
Can use, or need?
Is it a sad deep trait
Of his stained breed?
Despite his posture, speech,
And vaunted brain,
He does not yet transcend

His jungle strain.

Our social look askew,
Blindness our bane,
Control the strands and make
Our pattern sane;
Send out thy light, O God,
Thy child refine—
Weave him both warp and woof
In thy design.

—JOHN F. DAVIDSON

In India, the headquarters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are located in Manganam, Kerala State. Accordingly, FOR leaders took the opportunity to perform a ministry of reconciliation during last winter's bitterly contested elections between the incumbent Communist government and a coalition ticket of Praja Socialists, Congress and Muslim parties. Acharya Chandy, a deacon of the Church of South India, is secretary of the Indian FOR, editor of its magazine, Arunodayam, and leader of the Christavashram, a Christian community similar to those established by M. K. Gandhi.—The Editors

THE ELECTIONS WENT OFF comparatively peacefully in spite of a few stray though serious occurrences. We had a rather heavy month, but on the whole it was a very interesting and enriching experience. We appeared on the election platforms of either parties. It was an experience that a priest (and I deliberately wore my cassock) was seen on Communist platforms! Criticism from Christian and Congress friends, however, were more than compensated by the response to the message of love and peace that one found on the faces of working-class people (most of whom were Communists or fellow-travelers) that were present in thousands at the Communist meetings. Our effort to get a code of conduct accepted by the political parties also was successful on District levels.

We had Shanti placards pasted on route buses and Shanti pamphlets distributed through volunteers. Training camps were organized in different centers, including one where, following a political murder, there was great tension. Shanti volunteers were posted wearing sashes in orange color with the mark "Shanti" printed on them. Two days before the election, we had jathas organized in two other districts, Kottayam and Alleppey. In the Central Kerala Zone I was acting as convenor. Though we had placards with peace slogans, the jatha was in complete silence. We felt it made an impression on the people who noticed a marked contrast to the shouting jathas characteristic of election campaigns.

On election day we made a tour in Keithahnji's* jeep, visiting election booths in various centers, especially where we had

our volunteers. In some places where they, and even the police, found it hard to get people in queues, our visit was invariably helpful. In one place where there was a complaint that a woman voter, a Harijan, was detained by her landlord from going to the booths, our interference eased the situation. She went and voted. On the whole, however, there were only very few cases of this type on either side.

Our day's tour ended with a visit to a place where a murder occurred, very near an election booth. Fear reigned supreme there. But the police came in time and people freely went and voted. The murdered man said to be the brother of a Communist cell secretary. We went to the murdered man's house and tried to console his young wife (with a child) and the parents. It is a Harijan colony, mainly of Christian families, mostly swayed by the Communists. This was a challenging situation, especially for one who believes in the organized church (in spite of its shortcomings). We had prayer there and gave them some material help also.

The elections, as you know, proved to be a great victory for the United Front in the numbers returned to the Assembly. In the percentage of votes registered, however, the Communist Party has not suffered any considerable loss compared to the previous elections. The United Front is to take serious note of this situation and by their energetic constructive and socialistic program should be able to win more adherents from the Communist Party, if they are to endure. On the whole, however, with regard to a peaceful atmosphere for a free election, the people of Kerala generally responded well.

—K. K. CHANDY

* Ralph Richard Keithahn, vice-president of the Indian FOR.—Ed.

Accepting the Norms

CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND THE DILEMMAS OF FOREIGN POLICY by Kenneth W. Thompson. Duke University Press 1959. 148 pp., \$3.50.

Few subjects call for more careful thought and exposition in our day than that which the author has chosen to deal with in his Lilly Lectures at Duke University, here presented in book form. Unfortunately, what they say about the nature of Christian ethics goes not one whit beyond Reinhold Niebuhr's critical notes on classical Christian ethical theory, his *Moral Man and Immoral Society* published nearly thirty years ago. Nor is there fresh insight into the theoretical basis upon which a government's decisions in the field of international relations might be adjudged to constitute a genuine foreign policy. In dealing with concrete issues, the author has concentrated upon armaments, colonialism and diplomacy. Here too, substantive ideas are missing; we are simply exhorted to face the obvious dilemmas with which all reflective people in our generation have been grappling for years.

Mr. Thompson, quoting Herbert Butterfield to the effect that the "condition of absolute predicament or irreducible dilemma lies in the very geometry of human conflict" (p. 60), affirms that this is the only sure ground upon which to confront the fundamental foreign policy problems of our time. He then proceeds to summarize the words of various Western actors and commentators on the questions he has selected to treat. The conclusions he reaches in each case are indicative of the usefulness of the book:

Armaments: "A military establishment grounded in conventional weapons may fall short of providing a defensible military posture, but so may a policy aimed at superior atomic capacities."

Colonialism: "It remains a problem with which public and policy-makers must learn to live."

Diplomacy: "The chances of survival in peace or in a thermonuclear struggle (*sic*: italics by reviewer) require something more than a national resolve to be firm and strong. There is need as well for eternal vigilance in seeking out reasonable prospects for accommodation in the cold war."

BOOKS

Such are the practical consequences of the method of Christian ethical analysis of international relations which the author recommends as *Judaean-Christian Realism*. This approach, in Mr. Thompson's hands, amounts to accepting the norms for one's thinking about foreign policy from respectable contemporary liberals, taking care never to forget that even as we proceed to action on the basis of the best worldly wisdom available, we all live under the judgment of God. —HOWARD SCHOMER



Red China Today

IMPATIENT GIANT by Gerald Clark. McKay 1959. 212 pp., \$4.50.

Americans, whose government has not negotiated any agreement for our newspaper reporters to enter the People's Republic of China, are indebted to Canadian correspondents for much of the information we get from China. Gerald Clark, the chief foreign correspondent of the *Montreal Star*, has, in addition to his newspaper reports, written the finest book on China we have yet seen. It is easy and fascinating reading; it is objective in the sense that it is neither naïve about Communism nor intent on creating propaganda against China.

Clark tells the story of China's great leap forward in terms of industrial and agricultural development. One of the keys to the development of China is the commune system in which more than 500 million Chinese peasants have been incorporated. Although the groundwork for this was laid in the liquidation of feudal landlords and rich peasants shortly after the Communists conquered China, the peasants were induced by a process of deception and persuasion to enter the communes. "Whatever its tender methods, the Chinese Communist experiment in persuasion is likely to prove the most successful example in human history of conformation and mass brainwashing. Side by side with indoctrination, the warning against outside danger is designed to spur the people into greater output."

The United States military ventures, both

in Korea and Formosa but also elsewhere along the China coast, has provided the Chinese regime with excellent excuses not only for increased production but for building the communes along military lines. If there is widespread dissatisfaction in China, our policy is designed to subordinate it to the patriotism and nationalism which we arouse among all segments of the population.

Although the United States is the whipping boy, all foreigners are to some degree suspect in China. This includes Russians. The Chinese, says Clark, "are pushing ahead as fast as possible on their own, and they grant neither the Russians nor other members of the Communist bloc many special privileges. . . . They do not even permit Russian newspapermen to visit the Fukien front, where guns were shelling Quemoy. Security has rigid bounds even among first cousins."

Important chapters on Russian-Chinese rivalry, Americans in China, economic warfare, Chinese intellectuals, the communes with their implications for family life, birth control, etc., are among the thirteen chapters in the book. Each contains human interest stories as well as items of political value. The final chapter, "What Must We Face," discusses relations between India and China, admission to the United Nations and a number of other political problems that concern the future of the West and world peace.

This is truly an important book which deserves wide reading not only by students of international relations but by laymen.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.



Missions In a New Key

THE WORLD IS LEARNING COMPASSION by Frank C. Laubach. Revell 1959. 245 PP., \$3.50.

Dr. Frank C. Laubach is a confirmed optimist. In *The World is Learning Compassion*, this great man who has spent a

lifetime fighting hunger, disease and ignorance catalogs for us the forces—and organizations—at work in the world today that are bringing the Christian ethic closer to a living reality. For Dr. Laubach, compassion is the heart of the message of Jesus, and he sees in "the incredible twentieth century" a broader acceptance of this message than at any time since the death of Jesus.

After a brief chapter recording the tremendous thread of compassion exhibited by the Christian world since the apostles restricted the magnificent exhortation of Jesus to "love one another" to mean only another Christian, Dr. Laubach comes to the present with the sentence, "The missionary movement is the best illustration of pure compassion in the past two thousand years." The balance of the book details the work of the great philanthropies: church, state, foundation and people-to-people. It is an impressive story and nowhere better done than when this great apostle of literacy is recounting the fight against ignorance. In that he tells the story of the origin of his now renowned "each one teach one" method for world literacy.

"In Lanao Province in Mindanao we were forced, by the depression of the 1930s, to adopt a new approach to literacy. We were having a flourishing literacy campaign, with four hundred teachers, some paid and all of them expecting to be paid a little. Then came the great financial crash. We received the news from our Mission Board that we should not spend any money. We called all our teachers and the big chiefs of the province together and told them we were out of money and could not pay the teachers. They looked angry. But Kakai Dagalangit, the biggest chief in South Lanao, came to our rescue. He said, 'This is too important to stop! Everybody who can read must teach somebody else. If he doesn't, I'll kill him!' So everybody taught and everybody liked it." And so it all began.

AMONG OUR REVIEWERS are **Howard Schomer**, president of Chicago Theological Seminary; **Richard W. Reuter**, executive director of CARE; **William L. Neumann**, professor of history at Goucher College; and **John M. Swomley Jr.**, until recently FOR co-secretary who, after 21 years of service, has resigned that post to become associate professor of Christian Social Ethics at the National Methodist Theological Seminary in Kansas City.

For forty-five years, Frank Laubach has worked for the improvement of living standards for all people. Long before there was a Communist menace, Frank Laubach was a practitioner of technical assistance overseas. Now 75 years old, this great Christian missionary and teacher has visited some 96 countries since he started his work as a Congregational missionary in the Philippines in 1915.

Dr. Laubach is still going strong. He has little patience for opposition, delay and inadequacy, and his book speaks naught but well—even about people and groups not always so favorably treated. One gets the impression that the “is” requires emphasis in “The World Is Learning Compassion.” I hope he is right but I do have the feeling that Dr. Laubach would have said the same of any age in which he happened to live. He is that kind of man.

—RICHARD W. REUTER

The War-Crimes Trials

THE NUREMBERG TRIALS by August von Knieriem. Regnery 1959. 561 pp., \$12.50.

History has been unkind to the Nürnberg Trials. The new international morality which they claimed to establish was violated by all the judging countries within a decade after the trials' conclusion. The nation whose leaders were tried for “crimes against the peace” was being rearmed for what might be a new assault on the peace.

This volume is a lawyer's brief against the trials by the former general counsel of one of Germany's largest corporations, I. G. Farben. It is confined to a discussion of twelve cases against the generals and industrialists. Von Knieriem makes a good legal defense—if not an ethical defense—of their conduct.

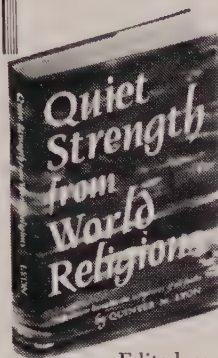
—WILLIAM L. NEUMANN

Crack in the Iron Curtain

A CASE HISTORY OF HOPE by Flora Lewis. Doubleday 1958. 267 pp., \$3.95.

The subtitle of this book is “The Story of Poland's Peaceful Revolution.” After Stalin died, the under-the-surface yearning for freedom emerged gradually in Poland and finally exploded in the individual and

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organized protests of students, writers and workers. Many of these protests were organized by members of the Polish Communist Party in an effort to democratize the party and the government. One of the most dramatic episodes in the book is the story of Polish Communist resistance to Bulganin and Khrushchev. The Polish Politburo, for example, refused, on at least two occasions, to permit Soviet leaders then in Warsaw to meet with the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party. Gomulka was handed the reins of leadership by the Politburo while Khrushchev was on his way to Warsaw ready to crush the Polish revolution and while Russian troops were encircling Warsaw. By threat of popular resistance, Gomulka literally

forced Khrushchev to withdraw the troops, to accept the Gomulka program and return to Moscow without addressing the Polish Central Committee.

It was not a nonviolent revolution, but compared with the Hungarian revolt it was a remarkable demonstration of peaceful change. It also demonstrated that it is possible for a relatively weak power to resist the might of the Soviet Union.

Flora Lewis, an able newspaper correspondent in her own right, is also the wife of the *New York Times* correspondent, Sidney Gruson. The book shows every evidence that persons high in the Polish party and government supplemented the information otherwise available to skilled journalists in Poland, such as the Grusons.

Here is not only the history of the Polish revolution but of the documentation of the thesis that there are powerful forces in the Communist world who want freedom and social change. Here also is an implicit suggestion that the West, by dropping its military and economic pressure on the Eastern countries, might find ways to

encourage the forces in the East that seek freedom.

This is recommended reading for anyone who wants to understand how the Communist Party functions, what life in Eastern Europe is like, and how fallible Soviet power and calculations can be.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

FILMS

Power For Peace or War

POWER AMONG MEN. Color, sound. 90 min. United Nations Film Board.

This is a film about human survival. In four episodes it shows the reconstruction of an Italian village devastated in World War II, the formation of a thriving agricultural cooperative by impoverished Haitian peasants—both aided by UN experts—the building of the vast Kitimat hydroelectric complex in the Canadian wilderness, and in Norway an examination of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, with a plea for international control.

To this reviewer, the Haitian episode

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stood out as an example of what technologically advanced countries can do to help backward ones. It gives a vivid picture of what "backward" can mean: primitive methods of plowing and planting and a self-defeating ethic of "every man for himself" add up to a marginal existence in which malnutrition is rife and a bad harvest may leave a farmer no alternative but to abandon his land and seek work as a laborer in the city. This episode shows how, with the help of a skilled UN technician, a scattering of these rugged individualists join together to do a job none could have done for himself. Those of us who are too accustomed to the comforts of middle-class American life can gain a renewal of compassion and a real sense of human possibilities from this episode. And the gorgeous mountain vistas of Haiti make a good background.

The Kitimat episode is very different. Here we see power on a titanic scale, the speed and smoothness with which a dam is built and a whole new city with it. Against the backdrop of this technological majesty, however, conflicts of race and nationality among the new neighbors of Kitimat remind us of the "moral lag" in our scientific culture. This theme carries over into the concluding section, which consists mainly of an illustrated lecture by a Norwegian scientist on the benefits and perils of atomic energy.

The film is framed at the beginning and end by the lines from *Hamlet* that begin, "What a piece of work is man!" At the end, the viewer has much to ponder. He may want to think back to the cycle of life sketched out in the first episode, which begins in 1946 when an Italian peasant's plow strikes a land mine, and ends in 1957 with the dead man's son being conscripted for military service as his mother and sister look on with troubled eyes.

One land mine: how much tragedy it brought! In Haiti, one UN technician: how much happiness his skills brought! Here, in capsule, is the message of *Power Among Men*. Shall it be power for evil or for good? This film does not carry a pacifist moral at the end, but its implications point toward one, and pacifists will find in these episodes good illustrations for their case.

—W. R. M.

pamphlet reviews

• *Paths to Freedom Through Nonviolence* by Ernst Schwarcz. 71 pp., 50¢. Order from: Shanti Sena Publications, 5729 Dorchester Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

This is the English translation, edited by Bradford Lyttle, of a pamphlet published in Vienna in German eight years ago. There is probably no other publication currently in print that provides so complete a summary of Gandhian principles of nonviolence in such brief space. It includes an interpretation of the East-West struggle and a chapter of examples of nonviolence in practice which overlaps with those given in Gregg's classic *The Power of Nonviolence*—some of Gregg's material being omitted and examples from Finland and Brazil added. The main usefulness of this pamphlet will be as an introduction or as a refresher. Little will be found here that is new or original; for the most part it repeats from other sources what is worth repeating.



• *Sit-Ins: The Students Report*. Compiled and edited by Jim Peck. 14 pp., 25¢. Order from: Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.

In this timely pamphlet, six students write about the nonviolent sit-in campaign for racial integration of variety store lunch counters. Writers, in order of appearance, are Patricia Stephens of Tallahassee, Florida, a college co-ed serving a 60-day sentence in the county jail for her part in the sit-ins; Edward Rodman, a high school boy in Portsmouth, Va.; Paul Laprad of Fisk University, who worked with FOR

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secretary James M. Lawson Jr. in the successful Nashville campaign; Thomas Gaither of Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C., who was among 200 students arrested for peacefully marching around the county court house; Major Johns, an expellee from Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., where 3,500 students marched and listened to him attack segregation from the steps of the State Capitol; and Martin Smolin of Columbia University, captain of a picket line to demonstrate Northerners' sympathy with their harrassed Negro brothers in the South. Jim Peck and CORE deserve credit for an informative and stimulating addition to the literature of nonviolence—and for getting it out while the movement is still in full swing. The pamphlet is illustrated with well-chosen photos and contains an introduction by Lillian Smith.



• *Cracking the Color Line* by Jim Peck. 24 pp., \$1. Order from: Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.

This is a fancy, high-priced history of the use of nonviolent direct action methods by CORE groups to break down racial barriers in restaurants, theaters, schools, beaches and other public accommodations. Those who are willing to regard the excessive price as a contribution to a worthy cause, however, will find a factual account of excellent journalistic quality that tells about CORE campaigns as early as 1942. Although no mention is made of the fact, FOR members can take pride in the knowledge that these early efforts were an outgrowth of FOR programs in the race relations field. "Dinner at Stoners," for example, was a joint project of the FOR and CORE, although only the latter is mentioned here. And FOR member Martin Luther King gives CORE a boost in a brief foreword.



• *Why Did God Create the Races?* by Kenneth J. Foreman. 4 pp., 5¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

This reprint from *The Presbyterian Outlook* answers briefly a question often asked by "good Christians" who harbor race prejudices handed down to them by custom and tradition. Foreman gives a few examples to show that prejudice is essentially an absurdity based on trifling superficial differences, and concludes with Jesus' commandment to "love one another." Written with humility and good humor in an easy, non-technical style, this publication may help many people to outgrow racial concepts that are too small for them.



• *The Way of Man According to the Teachings of Hasidism* by Martin Buber. 32 pp., 35¢. Order from: Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa.

The wisdom of a man like Martin Buber can do more to melt the walls of bigotry than any number of pamphlets that discuss anti-Semitism as a problem. For in this brief study of the sayings of a significant sect within 18th

and 19th century Judaism, he draws the reader fully into a stream of Jewish thought that has something valuable to say to every man. His theme here is man's purification and commitment for the sake of overcoming conflict and, through the "turning" of repentance and renewal, transforming the world. Social issues are not discussed at all, but we who confront them can benefit if we first arm ourselves with the spiritual fortifications of Buber's rich insights.

PACIFISM ENTERS A NEW PHASE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 25)

promising than ever. The change of emphasis is from seeking to win individual Christians to pacifism to that of seeking to open the eyes of the Church to the fact that its own corporate witness as over against nuclear war must be one of unqualified rejection, i.e. of pacifism. It must itself be the great fellowship of reconciliation or be untrue to its Lord.

It follows finally that in setting forth the outlook and task here outlined I am not proposing for myself or for others a departure from Christ, but the contrary. I know of no imperative which is higher, clearer and stronger than that which issues from His teaching and His life. And I know of no grace which somehow enables us to respond to that imperative other than the love of God revealed in Christ.

As I have looked back over these 45 years, and especially as I have contemplated the vast potentialities now before us, the new stature and scope of pacifism, in spite of all the horror and terror and apathy of this age, I confess that I have occasionally in recent days thought of the utterance of another old man, who said: "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, Lord, according to thy word." And if the departing come, I think it would indeed be a departing in peace. But I do not feel like departing and I probably don't know how to quit.

Thus a more appropriate song for myself—and especially for younger people—seems to consist of the lines in the Battle Hymn of the Republic—if we may overlook the martial reference for the moment—which reads:

*Mine eyes have seen the glory of the
coming of the Lord.*

*O, be swift, my soul, to answer Him,
be jubilant, my feet.*

LETTERS

It is Fellowship's policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with Fellowship's viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

The Progress of Bhudan

Dear Editors:

In a talk I had recently with Jayaprakash Narayan, in London, Jim Bristol's article, "Bhava and the Future of Bhudan" (FELLOWSHIP, Nov. 1, 1959), cropped up. Narayan said that superficially the article might be correct, but looking deeper it gave a quite wrong impression.

The first aim of Vinoba's whirlwind campaign was to arouse India's villages and create a new climate of opinion and action. Vinoba knew that the campaign would proceed much faster than the follow-up work of consolidation, and argued that the latter could wait. He has recently slowed down the pace of the campaign and asked for programs of concentrated constructive work. This, Narayan assured me, is happening in every state where Vinoba has campaigned.

"In my state," said Narayan, "really magnificent work is going on. In one Gramdan village all the workers are giving two hours per day, after their normal day's work, to making bricks and building houses. At present they all live in mud houses, but the entire village is to be put in brick houses. The site is planned, also the allocation of all houses, precedence being determined by need."

Another village has set up a cooperative organization, including a co-op bank. After paying good wages, the first year's profits are astonishingly good, and ensure new developments. Narayan is confident that when each state can show a nucleus of transformed villages the effect upon the community generally will be electric.

It is the inspiration of actual village transformation that the villages are awaiting. Given this and some guidance and oversight they will go ahead. The desire and the ferment are there already. Consequently a phenomenal development is expected within, say, the next six, eight or ten years.

Since then I have received a letter from N. Ramaswami, editor of *Sarvodaya*. He is rather distressed by Jim Bristol's article "because it expresses the view of a person who has seen only the outside and not the hidden springs of what is essentially a great spiritual movement, the real significance of which cannot be seen immediately, but will be seen in due course." Mr. Ramaswami says a casual foreign visitor could not possibly perceive the psychological and philosophical foundations of the Bhudan movement.

Quantitatively the movement has barely got underway; it could not do so in view of the numerous obstacles—legal, traditional, religious, etc.—that had to be overcome. The important fact is that the villages want the Gramdan concept to prevail. They want and are ready for village land-sharing and all forms of co-operative action.

He says: "The first years of the movement have revealed tremendous moral and spiritual forces that previously had been hidden. Gramdan villages had not been contemplated by Vinoba until he saw that the people were ready for them, as indeed they are. But the work of transforming them into real Gramdans is a gigantic task which has to be thought out very carefully. At last this big task is being undertaken. The important fact is that our Bhudan workers have faith that their dreams will be realized."

WILFRED WELLOCK
Lancashire, England

Banneker or Benjamin Rush?

Dear Editors:

I welcome your reprinting (May 1, 1960) of the ancient but still timely essay, "Plan of a Peace-Office for the United States." You say you did not know that the full text has been ever reprinted since 1793; but it has been. The real question is one of authorship. I have argued elsewhere (*Journal of Negro History*, 23, 1938, 137f.) that it was written by Dr. Benjamin Rush. At least it was included in his lifetime in his *Essays: Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, 1798, and reprinted in later editions. In his preface he says, "Most of the following essays were published in the *American Museum and Columbian Magazine* in this City [Philadelphia] after the revolutionary war in the U. S., a few of them as pamphlets." The footnote in the plan seems to point to a time of writing between 1791 and 1792. I believe it was from this earlier printing that the version (shortened by a page) in *Banneker's Almanack and Ephemeris for the Year of Our Lord 1793* was derived. Abbreviation and unsigned use of borrowed material would be quite natural in an almanac. But attribution to Banneker himself was natural and can be traced back to at least 1917. The Negro astronomer in any case recognized a good idea.

HENRY J. CADBURY
Haverford, Pa.

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Dear Editors:

My attention has been called to page 25 of William Robert Miller's article in the May 1 FELLOWSHIP, entitled "The Mightier Pen," where he says that the National Council for Prevention of War "disbanded" on America's entry into World War II. Nothing could be further from the fact. The National Council was active until my retirement on reaching the age of 80, which was in 1954.

For a variety of reasons, it did not disband

at that time, but it still retains its corporate existence, has an office at 144 Constitution Avenue N.E., and rejoices in having the Fellowship of Reconciliation as a member. A. J. Muste represents the Fellowship (by proxy) at our Annual Meetings, which are held every October.

One reason for continuing our corporate existence with suspended activities is to protect our name from misuse and another reason is to receive various legacies in wills of which we have been notified. I hope personally that the day will come when an Executive Secretary with youth and vigor, who can raise money as well as direct the activities of an anti-war clearinghouse, will rise up to succeed me.

FREDERICK J. LIBBY
Washington, D. C.

The Germ Warfare Issue

Dear Editors:

I have been subscribing to FELLOWSHIP for just two years now. It has become a major source of inspiration to me. At first I read only small sections of it. Now I usually read the entire issue, including the book reviews.

Just this week I received and read from cover to cover the January issue. I must commend you on the impact of the case against germ and gas warfare. I have become more than a little concerned recently about this new menace to the human race.

The recent issue of FELLOWSHIP has brought my concern to a head. I have shared the content of the articles with friends. But what is most important, I have finally been moved to take some action as a result of my reading. I have been a confessed pacifist for some years and not just the silent type, either. Several times I have spoken out in sermons, etc. But I have never yet been moved enough out of the common disease of American apathy to write my Congressman or other government officials. This step I am now ready to take. It seems to me the time has come that we can no longer sit by—at least I can't.

Enclosed you will find my check for \$3 for ten additional copies of the January 1, 1960 issue of FELLOWSHIP. I intend to send them to friends and acquaintances that I want to be informed from a Christian point of view about the prospect of germ warfare.

I pray that you may continue to publish FELLOWSHIP in such a way that it will influence others as it has me.

GORDON S. FAIRCHILD
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

In Memoriam Ray Roberts

Dear Editors:

Your write-up of Ray Roberts in the Peace Information Edition of FELLOWSHIP (Feb. 15) is to be commended. It thumbnail-sketched the pith of the information about him. But one thing that print and words cannot tell enough of, as a number of people around here have expressed to me, is the warmth of the person-

ality in every human association and the selfless devotion to the cause of peace in his every act. He will truly be missed. We hope the effect of his work will be reflected through other people in this area.

IRWIN R. HOGNAUER
Pacific Northwest FOR
Seattle, Washington

A Write-In Campaign?

Dear Editors:

What candidate for president can a work for peace support in 1960? Some of the candidates are more militaristic than others, but is any one of those being publicly considered strong enough for peace for an FOR member to vote for him? I seriously doubt it.

In 1956 I felt this way about the Democratic and Republican candidates for the nomination, and did not want to vote Socialist, so I wrote in another name. Undoubtedly others did the same thing. Would it not be more effective if a responsible committee studied the candidates and made a suggestion of a name or names to write in if none is found to meet the requirements? Write-in votes for one man would certainly be more effective than scattered votes for several men, or than abstention from voting. If this idea were properly publicized it might result in thousands of such write-in votes, and much needed thinking about militarism.

HENRY W. RIDGWAY
Mickleton, New Jersey

Ed. Note: The Fellowship of Reconciliation as a non-political organization, of course takes no position for or against specific candidates for political office, nor would it attempt to organize any kind of political campaign. At the same time, FELLOWSHIP will attempt to report adequately the concerns that pacifists have for the expression of peace sentiment in the country during the imminent campaign.

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FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- ✚ They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- ✚ They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- ✚ They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- ✚ They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- ✚ They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

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LOCAL VOLUNTEERS PROGRAM



THESE SEVEN MEN are the vanguard of a new attack on war, militarism and racial enmity. They are members of a program of **VOLUNTEERS FOR PEACE** that is enlisting twenty-five people to serve the cause of peace and brotherhood in local communities throughout the United States. Expenses of this program are being met from a special \$10,000 fund raised in conjunction with the 45th anniversary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Young people who have not yet begun a career are giving sacrificially of their time, along with retired people who can't rest while tasks remain that call upon their dedication—these are the people who are carrying forward the spirit of love and nonviolence in these days of challenge and hope.

What is *your* part in this new program? You can help by joining your efforts to theirs in a number of ways: 1. Get a friend to subscribe to *Fellowship*. 2. Organize the unorganized pacifists: get them to sign the Statement of Purpose and become members of the FOR. (Have you signed it yourself? You're not a member unless you have.) 3. Write to the address below for a copy of the leaflet, *Help Wanted: Peace Workers*, and other suggestions about what you can do to help build peace.



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